

ART TREASURES OF CROATIA



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Author: Radovan Ivancevic

The development of the visual arts and the most valuable monuments on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, from prehistoric times to the beginning of the 20th century, are vividly presented in this book through an authoritative text and 200 colour illustrations of outstanding quality. Its aim is to acquaint the reader with this rich artistic heritage and to place it in the context of European art as a whole.

From time immemorial the territory of present-day Croatia was crossed by countless migrations of peoples and armies of conquest from all sides. Geographical and historical circumstances made it a demarcation zone of civilisations and cultures, and also their point of contact. The region of Croatia lay on a fateful dividing line. From the time of the settlement of the Croats, together with other South Slavs, in the early middle ages, Croatia's eastern border roughly coincided with the frontier of the former Western and Eastern Roman Empires, and subsequent divisions of power: the border between the Franks and Byzantines in the 9th century, and between Christendom and Islam from the 15th to 19th centuries. The author discusses the extent to which cultural monuments and works of art in Croatia are the result of the spread and adoption of art forms created and developed in other cultural centres, and points to the original contribution some of these have made to European art. Many valuable works of art in Croatia are still unknown abroad since they are not included in major surveys of art published to date, some, indeed, having only recently been thoroughly studied and interpreted by scholars. This book gives the reader an opportunity of getting to know a less familiar but nonetheless fascinating part of the European cultural heritage.

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Cover page:

*Altar closure slab from the church of
St. Domenica, late 11th century.*

Archaeological Museum, Zadar.







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1.
Bronze head of Artemis, 4th century BC, from Issa (Vis), the oldest Greek colony on the eastern Adriatic. This outstanding example of Hellenistic art is one of the few original Greek works to survive from this period.

2.
The Crossing of the Red Sea, relief on an Early Christian sarcophagus from Salona, first half of the 4th century AD. Archaeological Museum, Split. The loss of proportion, crowding of the figures and schematic treatment of detail reflect the internal crisis in the late Roman Empire.

3.
The Nativity, lunette of the portal of Trogir cathedral by Master Radovan (1240), the most imposing work of Romanesque sculpture. Gothic humanism and realism are already evident here in the attitude of the Mother to the Child and the pastoral scene with many realistic details.

4.
Gilded wooden polychrome polyptych on the island of Ugljan, 15th century. The attenuated figures, decoratively stylised folds of drapery and bright colours are typical of the international Gothic style of painting.

5.
Patron saints of towns are generally depicted in medieval art holding a symbolic model of the city. The model of Dubrovnik in the hands of St Blaise (Sveti Vlaho), made of beaten silver, 15th century, gives an accurate picture of the city's appearance before the earthquake of 1667.

6.
Hornblower, detail of a fresco in the château of Miljana, 18th century. The scene of a high-society garden party conjures up the "gallantry" of the 18th century, when this stately home of the Ratkaj family in the Zagorje region was restored and decorated with frescoes.

7.
OSKAR HERMAN: Peasant woman on Horseback (1920). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. A member of the "Munich circle" of Croatian painters in the early 20th century, Herman soon abandoned the solidity of volume common to Habermann's pupils for a picturesque, colouristic painting with symbolist-expressionist overtones.







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Radovan Ivančević

RADOVAN IVANČEVIĆ
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Director
PREDRAG LAKIČEVIĆ

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VLADIMIR MARKOVIĆ

Art Editor
MIODRAG VARTABEDIJAN

Marketing-manager
IVAN VEKIĆ

Translator
MADGE PHILLIPS TOMAŠEVIĆ

Photographs
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MILAN BABIĆ
ILIJAS BEŠIĆ
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(4th—2nd centuries BC)*

*Roman Urbanisation
(2nd century BC—5th century)*

PRE-ROMANESQUE

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Croatian Art in the Context of European Culture

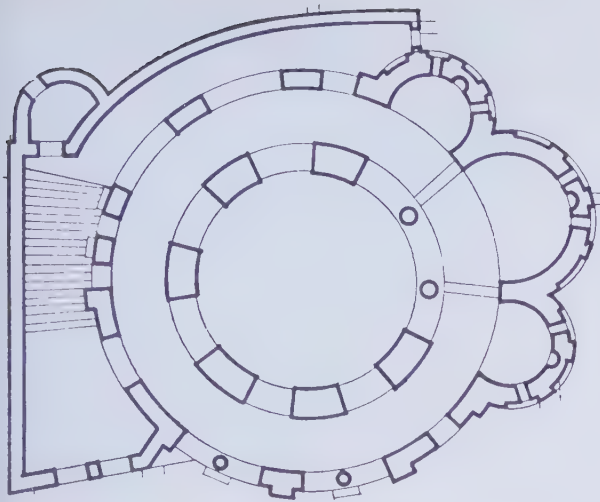
It is well known that the territory of present-day Croatia lay on the route taken by various migrating peoples and conquering armies from all sides, that it formed a demarcation zone between civilisations and a point of contact of diverse cultures. Croatia was an outpost of western culture towards the East, just as medieval Serbia was a frontier region of Byzantine culture towards the West. To be precise, it was through the territory of the present Republic of Croatia that the fateful dividing line was drawn. From the time of the settlement of the Croats, together with the other South Slavs, in the early middle ages, the eastern borders of Croatia coincided roughly with the frontier between the former Western and Eastern Roman Empires (4th century) and subsequent divisions of power: the territories of the Frankish and Byzantine Empires (9th century), of Catholic and Orthodox church (11th century) and later (from the 15th century) of Christendom and Islam, were interwoven in its fabric. In the arts, various trends and often divergent forces intermingled in Croatia, their fusion sometimes producing extremely original works. Culturologically the position of Croatia may be seen as quite unique among all the European states — because it is the point of intersection of four, rather than two culture zones: the Western and Eastern, but also the Northern (Central European) and Southern (Mediterranean) zone.

We shall attempt to answer the question of whether the artistic monuments in Croatia are simply the result of absorption — the spread and acceptance of artistic forms originated and developed in other cultural centres, thereby merely adding quantitatively to the European artistic heritage, or whether art in Croatia has made a qualitative, creative contribution to it. The cultural heritage on the territory of Croatia, in our view, includes works which belong to the treasury of European art, and without which certain chapters of European art history are incomplete. It should be mentioned, however, that many of these are unknown as such to the public abroad, and have not received general recognition, since they are not included in major surveys and summaries of European art made to date. The reason for this is not the unimportance of these works nor their inferior artistic quality, but lack of information. The authors of surveys of European and world art are often, unfortunately, too little acquainted with artistic monuments in Croatia. Still less are they able (because of the language barrier) to follow the growing number of scientific studies published in recent decades interpreting these monuments in line with the principles of contemporary scholarship. Finally, there is the fact that some of the major monuments in Croatia have only lately been thoroughly studied and properly interpreted. To illustrate our point, we shall mention here just a few of the more important monuments in Croatia of European significance.

From the prehistoric period there are some specific regional forms of artifacts, for instance, the incrustated *Vučedol pottery*.

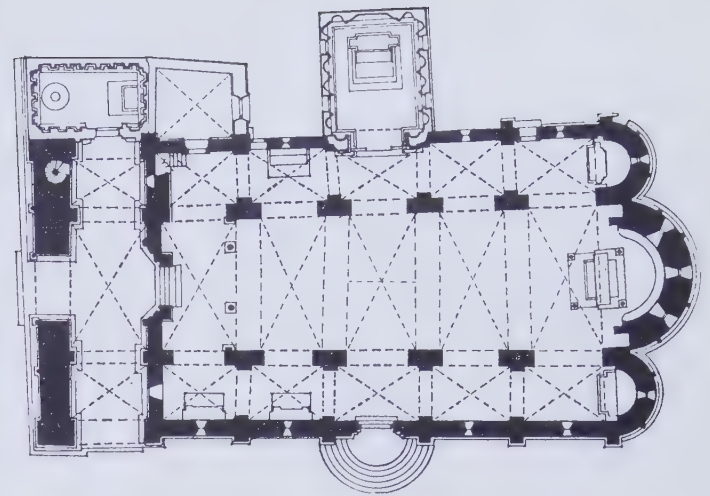
In the Roman age there is *Diocletian's Palace* (4th century), one of the most important extant examples of the architecture of late antiquity, combining the diverse artistic influences of the vast empire. The monumental imperial palace was adapted during later centuries into the small medieval city of Split.

The *sacral buildings of Salona* occupy an essential place in the art history of the Early



Church of
St Donatus, Zadar,
9th century,
ground-plan

Trogir cathedral,
13th century,
ground-plan with
baptistery and
Ursini chapel 15th
century



Christian period (4th—6th century), having supplied the evidence for propounding and checking theories on some of the central problems concerning the architecture of the period (e. g. the origin of the Christian basilica) and other questions of a cultural nature (the relationship of the official and martyr-cults or the “twin” basilicas).

From the “golden age” of Byzantine art in the reign of Justinian I, we have the episcopal complex and *mosaics of Poreč* (6th century), whose iconographic originality and exceptional artistic quality long ago led to comparison with the contemporary, and better known, mosaics of Ravenna.

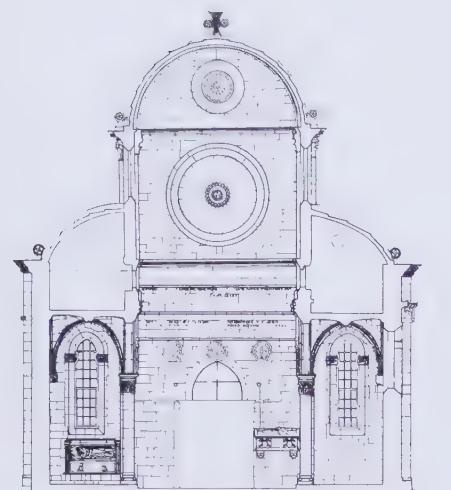
Following the settlement of the Slavs in the 7th century, the period of the independent Croatian state (9th—11th century) saw the development of *Pre-Romanesque architecture* (“Early Croatian”) — small churches with diverse ground-plans and shapes, which have been preserved or whose remains have been discovered in a relatively large number (about one hundred), not only compared with the buildings of other South Slav peoples in that period, but in relation to the architectural heritage of other European nations. These churches form a separate group of buildings over which art historians and other scholars have crossed swords, debating the crucial question of whether Roman antiquity or the so-called “barbarian” art played the vital role in the formation of early medieval architecture: the theories of continuity and discontinuity in culture.

In contrast with these small structures, the huge rotunda of St Donatus in Zadar (9th century) with its ambulatory on the upper floor and three apses, ranks among the most imposing Pre-Romanesque churches of centralised type in Europe. A distinctive group from this period is made up of churches with massive rounded counterforts and a bell-tower in the middle of the façade, such as St Saviour’s (Sveti Spas) on the Cetina (11th century). Marking a crucial moment in the birth of Romanesque architectural sculpture, they are unique monuments of the transition from the Pre-Romanesque age, when ornament completely dominated reliefs for four hundred years, to the early Romanesque, when the human image and figural compositions reappeared.

The Pre-Romanesque and early Romanesque *plaitwork reliefs*, structurally linked with the buildings of the Early Croatian period, have already been accorded a niche in the treasury of world art: A. Malraux included the stone plaques from the church of St Domenica in Zadar with their plaitwork, linear and low-relief figural compositions of the life of Christ (11th century) in his *Musée imaginaire*. The *cross-ribbed vault* in the bell tower of the Benedictine monastery in Zadar (1105) is one of the oldest reliably dated in Europe, while the *portal of Trogir cathedral* by Master Radovan (1240) is the most outstanding work of medieval sculpture not only in Croatia but in this part of Europe.

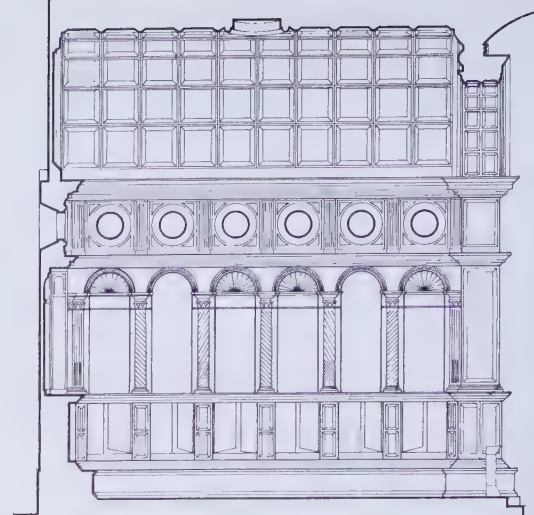
Juraj Dalmatinac (George of Dalmatia), master of the transitional or “mixed” Gothic-Renaissance style, made his contribution to the development of early Renaissance sculpture, and by the implementation of an original assembly method using stone slabs in the construction of *Šibenik cathedral* (1441—1475) made it possible to build a unique structure exclusively of stone, from its foundations to the roof vaulting and the top of the dome, without recourse to any other materials.

Juraj’s successor, the Renaissance architect and sculptor Nikola Firentinac (Nicholas the Florentine, 1475—1505), continued the building of Šibenik cathedral, creating the first and only func-



Šibenik cathedral, 15th—16th century, cross-section

Chapel of the St John Ursini of Trogir, Trogir cathedral, 15th century



tional and organic Renaissance facade in Europe in which the “trefoil” shape of the gable corresponds to the shape of the interior vaulting. Nikola Firentinac was responsible, with A. Alexi, for the Renaissance *chapel of the St John Ursini* in Trogir (1468—1482), also entirely of stone, influenced by Juraj and local classical tradition (the Small Temple of Diocletian’s Palace). With the new relationship of sculpture and architecture and his unprecedented use of monumental sculpture, Nikola applied a method which was to be further developed in European art in the next century, in the age of the high Renaissance.

The third original creation of the Renaissance period in Croatia — besides Šibenik cathedral and the Trogir chapel — is the *Renaissance summer villas* of the 15th and 16th centuries raised by local builders for the Dubrovnik aristocracy on the territory of the free Dubrovnik Republic. In type and quality, in their asymmetrical ground-plans, functional organisation of space and relationship to their natural surroundings, these have no adequate counterparts in contemporary European architecture.

The conquest of the Balkans from the 14th century on by the Turks, who in the course of the 16th century extended their sway over most of northern Croatia, caused a violent break in the continuity and development of art in these regions. This, coupled with the decline of maritime trade in the Mediterranean and the economic stagnation of Istrian and Dalmatian towns, resulted in the waning of artistic activity in the following centuries. But even under these conditions, some exceptional works of art and outstanding artists appeared, such as the sculptor *F. Robba* or the painter *I. Ranger* (18th century). Harmonious baroque ambiances (*châteaux* set in parks, churches with encircling walls, in the regions of Zagorje and Slavonia) and *architectural complexes* (the Jesuit complex in Dubrovnik, 18th century) were also created.

That modest economic circumstances need not always prove a handicap is demonstrated, among other things, by the artistically valuable and important achievements in *urban planning and architecture* in historicist Zagreb (1865—1887), and particularly the role played by public parks. These planning solutions were possible precisely because Zagreb — now the capital of the Republic of Croatia — was then a small baroque town and did not suffer the powerful impact of commerce and industry and the chaotic building boom typical of the industrial revolution in Europe.

A number of 20th-century painters and sculptors, particularly those contemporary Croatian artists who have received scholarly recognition and critical acclaim, do not belong only to European art, for their works are to be found in leading museums throughout the world. Unfortunately, this applies only to painting and sculpture, while the works of *modern architecture* in Croatia, particularly interesting because of their synthesis of the functionalist and organic trends in the fourth decade of the 20th century, have not yet been presented to the European and world public. Among the trends in painting of European significance, one that is likewise insufficiently known and interpreted is the movement of social criticism known as *Zemlja* (The Land, 1928—1935). The *Zemlja* artists re-evaluated folk art and contemporary popular painting and encouraged the formation of the so-called Hlebine school of peasant painters (Ivan Generalić). This played an important role in the postwar flowering of naive painting — the only branch of Croatian art sufficiently well known abroad.

Finally, the artistic heritage of Croatia abounds in entities whose value lies in their organic

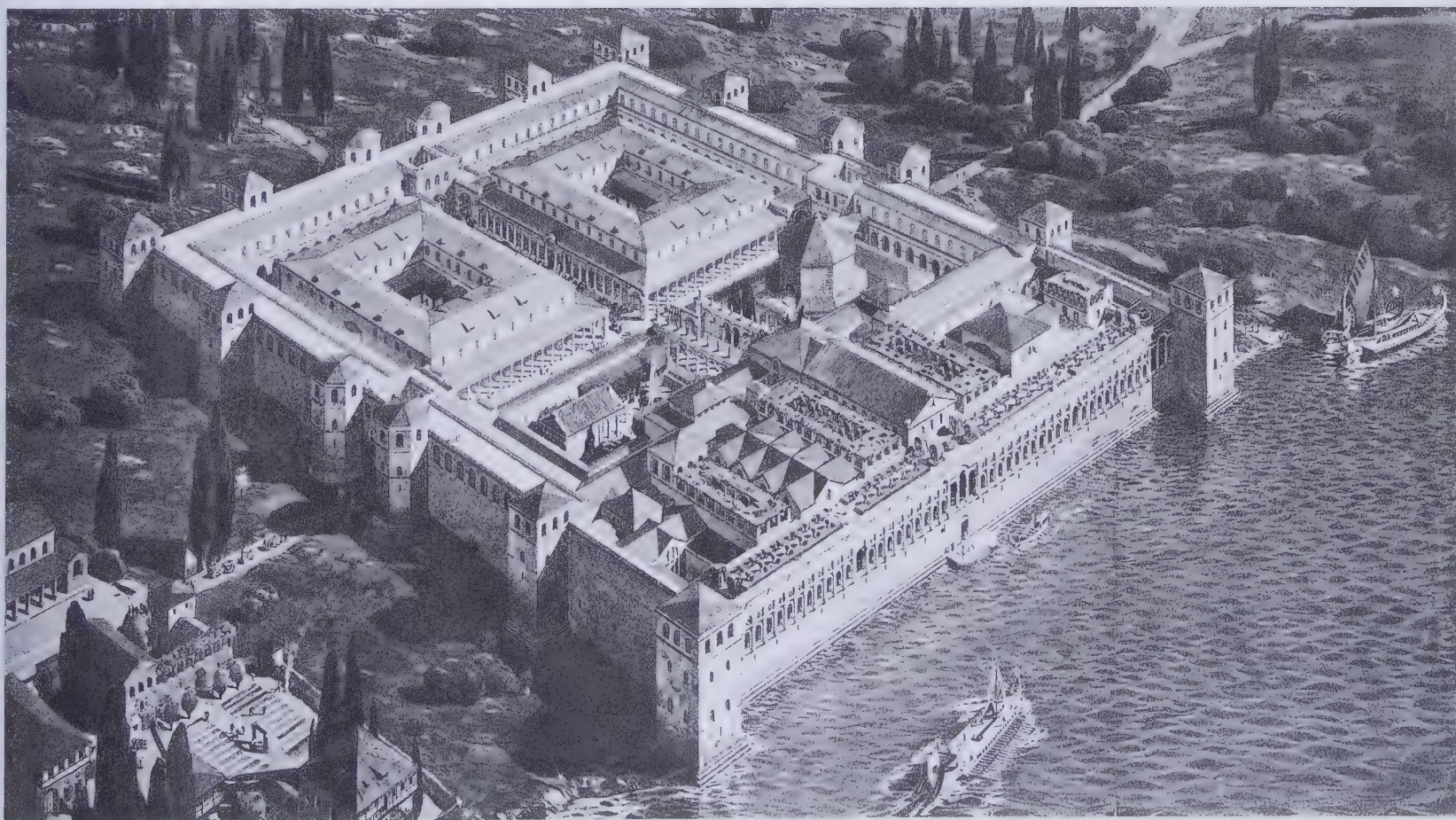


Plan of the Sorkočević villa at Lapad, Dubrovnik, 16th century.

Reconstruction of Diocletian's Palace in Split, late 3rd — early 4th century, by Hebrard-Zeiller (1912). Rectangular in shape, with two intersecting streets, the palace was modelled on a Roman military camp. The seaward half comprised the imperial apartments, three small temples (only one in the plan) and the emperor's octagonal mausoleum.

fusion of monuments from various periods in various styles. These are the *towns* — syntheses of works of art created by many generations in different ages: *Split*, where every epoch since antiquity has left its traces; the Renaissance “ideal” town of *Karlovac* (1579) in the shape of a six-pointed star; Gothic-Renaissance-baroque *Dubrovnik*; Roman-Romanesque *Zadar*; the 14th-century planned Gothic towns of *Ston* and *Mali Ston*; the Renaissance isle of *Šipan*, and others.

Works of art are the traces of time in space. Looking back from our present standpoint at the perspective of bygone centuries of continuous creativity on the territory of Croatia, we can perceive a division into two essentially different epochs: that of the pre-Slav civilisations and cultures, and the period from the Slav settlement in the 7th century to the present day. Just as those pre-Slav civilisations, above all the Roman, not only left an indelible imprint with their surviving monuments, but also influenced our creative activities in the past, so the entire artistic heritage of Croatia forms part of our culture today. Provided, of course, that we are acquainted with it. It is hoped that this book may serve to further such an acquaintanceship.



Traces of Prehistoric Communities

Traces of human presence on the territory of Croatia have been found from the very earliest period of man's recorded existence on European soil — the palaeolithic or old stone age. But these are merely tiny flickers of life scattered about a huge area: in the caves of Krapina and Vindija, at Veternica near Zagreb, at Ivanec and in the Lika region, beside the Limski kanal in Istria and in a few other places. The first evidence of human activity: a few roughly shaped flints, blade flakes and scrapers, along with bone tools, are the first modest indications of the skills and admirable intelligence with which the prehistoric hunter engaged in his unequal struggle with more powerful beasts and the hostile nature of those harsh times. The mesolithic or middle stone age, when the hunter started fishing and gathering fruits, saw the transition from a nomadic to a settled way of life (traces of a settlement at Lopar on the island of Rab). The lengthy neolithic period with its herders and farmers, who built themselves dwellings and lived in communities, began in these regions in the 5th millennium BC. This was a decisive point in the transition from a nomadic, migrational to a "sedentary" culture, in which the first true works of art appeared.

The prehistoric periods on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia coincide with those in European prehistory in general, which means that here, as in the regions that are now Britain, France, Germany, Poland or Italy, the prehistoric ages — neolithic, aeneolithic, bronze — slowly succeeded one another down to the 2nd millennium BC, while the more advanced Mediterranean cultures, such as the Egyptian, Phoenician or Cretan, were not only fully developed, with a long history behind them, but had already passed their zenith. On the European shores of the Mediterranean, history first dawned in the Peloponnese with the Mycenaean culture, and then in central Italy with the Etruscan, but the continent as a whole was to slumber on in the prehistoric stage for centuries to come. The first more intensive and continuous contacts between prehistoric Europe and the historically more advanced Mediterranean civilisations occurred only in the European iron age, in the first millennium BC, when bold seamen and merchants from the more developed societies set out in search of new possibilities for trade and traced the routes by which Aegean culture of the Mycenaean phase was to reach the Balkans and penetrate far north (the "Amber Road").

From the 4th century BC, the Greeks, having reached their apogee, began to found colonies and build towns on the Adriatic, in the midst of the barbarian Illyrians. From then on, contacts between these two worlds would become ever closer, and communication and exchange between the historical and prehistoric cultures ever more intensive.

Both regions of Croatia — the northern, comprising fertile lowlands intersected by great rivers, and the southern coastal area which is part of the Adriatic, i. e. the Mediterranean world — are of importance in European prehistory as transit zones, while their cultures played a role in transmitting the more advanced cultural influences from Asia Minor (Anatolian from Thrace) and the Aegean. But at the same time these regions developed some cultural values of their own.

The common artistic language of all artifacts of the neolithic period throughout Europe can be understood only in the light of the new living conditions shared by all. This age is called neo-lithic, the "new" stone age, because of the advances in techniques in stone tool production, with smoother polished tools replacing the rough artifacts of the palaeolithic. But the vital change was not in tools but in methods of work, organisation of society, and the overall way of life. The former hunters and gatherers became livestock breeders and farmers; instead of using natural shelters they made themselves dwellings, and so, for the first time in the history of the world, a "new (human) environment" was created.

The structural difference in relation to the previous age would thus be more accurately expressed if the new era were named the "earthen" rather than the new stone age. This would denote the genetic cause of this change



8.
Askos, an earthenware vessel with a handle in the shape of an animal from Dalj (700 BC). Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. With its smooth surface, thinness and sharp edges, this late bronze age artifact is a good example of the influence of metalworking on pottery.

9.
Clay female idol from Dalj near Osijek, middle bronze age (1500 BC). Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. The flattened stylised figure decorated with incisions suggesting clothing (necklace, belt) belongs to a type of incrustated pottery found in the southern Transdanubian region.







10.

Earthenware vessel from Kaptol Požeški (600 BC). Archaeological Museum, Zagreb.

Besides the spiral relief pattern, a motif taken from bronze jewelry, it is decorated with moulded animal heads (for carrying and handling).

in artistic language, for it is precisely the adoption of the practice of agriculture that explains the emergence of the new culture. Moreover, this is the age that saw the spread of pottery — earthenware.

The fact that by his activities as a farmer — clearing woods, digging, sowing — and as a builder man literally changed the face of the earth was reflected in art. By contrast with the naturalism and realism of the cave painting of the palaeolithic hunter “dependent” on nature, in the agricultural neolithic age, pottery, the main medium of neolithic art, displays stylised forms and is primarily ornamental in character. This revolutionary step away from “naturalistic” dependence on nature can be seen in the extremely bold stylisation of forms of art, the reduction of even the human image to a symbol. The artist of the neolithic period did not imitate or reproduce, but above all created new forms for the purpose of communication. The naturalistic forms of the palaeolithic are replaced in the neolithic by geometrical ornamentation with straight, zig-zag and curvilinear lines and bands. The technique by which the potter scratched and incised the soft surface of the clay vessels is identical, albeit on a smaller scale, to the methods of tilling the soil with hoe or plough. A variant of this is *impresso* pottery, ornamented with the impression of shells, reeds and human nails, which marks the beginning of the potter’s art (the Smilčić site near Zadar).

Within the general typology of neolithic pottery, shaped by hand and without the use of the wheel, a particularly interesting and distinctive variant belonging to the Vučedol culture evolved in the fertile plain of eastern Slavonia in the transitional aeneolithic period (3500—2300 BC). This is distinguished by the use of the technique of incrustation. The pressing of red and white chalk into the grooves of the linear geometrical ornamentation incised in the clay vessel gives a specific polychromatic effect. In the finest examples, the ornamentation is used sparingly on a plain black ground and emphasises the form of the vessel: a series of circles accentuates the most prominent zone, an ornamental band borders the opening or handle, while the whole surface is enlivened by tiny delicate patterns of narrow bands or small rhythmically arranged free-floating crosses.

The actual shape of this pottery derives from the intermingling of two cultural levels: the traditional “earthen”, pottery period and the new metal age. The potter transposed into clay forms belonging to metalwork. Concave-convex forms, for instance, with a sharp break where surfaces meet, are not characteristic of earthenware, which is better suited to the organic drop-like shape that comes naturally when the “liquid” softness of clay is being fashioned, but of vessels shaped by the beating of copper or even by the joining of two parts. The burnished and gleaming black surfaces show that the makers of these vessels were imitating metalware from the more advanced societies with which they came into contact.

Similarly, the spiral pattern which derives naturally from the propensity of metal wire to coil round itself was to become widespread on the pottery of the following bronze age. The appearance of relief spiral metal motifs on the pottery of the Danilo culture can likewise be interpreted as a transposition from one material into another, from metal to clay, and also as the adoption of a pattern from a more developed metal-age culture by a society still living predominantly in the “earthen” age and expressing itself in the shaping of earthenware vessels.

The other characteristic moulded-clay object of the neolithic is the human figure, a stylised female idol with a reduced flattened trunk, vestigial extremities, small breasts and an incised triangle between the thighs. This displays the same method of boldly transforming the natural shape into a recognisable symbol. In fact, neolithic ornamentation as a whole is a kind of symbolic language, an ideogram, for its patterns frequently have symbolic significance: the circle with a cross — the sun, the wavy line — the sun’s journey, and so on. In the fashioning of female figures, testifying to a developed fertility cult and matriarchal element in the organisation of



13

11.

Pot from Vučedol (2600 BC). Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. This black pottery of concave-convex shape with black and red incrustation is notable for its restrained, logically arranged ornamentation.

12.

Earthenware vessel in the shape of a dove from Vučedol (2000 BC). Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. The decorative incised lines suggest feathers, while the double axe (labrys) is of Aegean origin.

13.

Head of an animal idol. Eneolithic clay idol (cca 1800 B. C.) from Kringa, Pazin, shows the intrinsic unity of the Aegean-Mediterranean culture.

society, we can notice in the transitional aeneolithic period more emphasis on volume, a fullness closer to the actual bodily form.

Some animal figures are fully rounded, for example, a bird-shaped vessel whose volume was dictated by its function as a container. True, the bird stands on three legs instead of two, but the vessel beautifully stresses the aerodynamic form of the body adapted for flight (or hydrodynamic for swimming). The stylised ornamentation combines happily with the volume of the bird's body; instead of feathers, it is covered with interwoven incrustated patterns (curvilinear, dentate, circular...). The motif of the double axe (labrys) on the bird's neck, however, recalls ancient Aegean, Cretan culture.

Neolithic culture left its traces in Istria (Vižula near Medulin, Verudica near Pula, Vrčin near Vodnjan); the middle neolithic period set its stamp on finds from around Zadar (Smilčić) and Šibenik (Danilo, which gave its name to the Danilo culture); and neolithic features are also found on the islands of Ugljan, Brač, Korčula, Vis and Hvar. The "corded-ware" pottery from the cave of Grapčeva spilja on Hvar shows kinship with finds over a huge area from Malta to Germany and Russia, as well as links with the Ljubljana (Slovenia), Butmir (Bosnia) and Vinča (Serbia) circle. Polychrome pottery influenced by Greek painted vases has been found on Hvar.

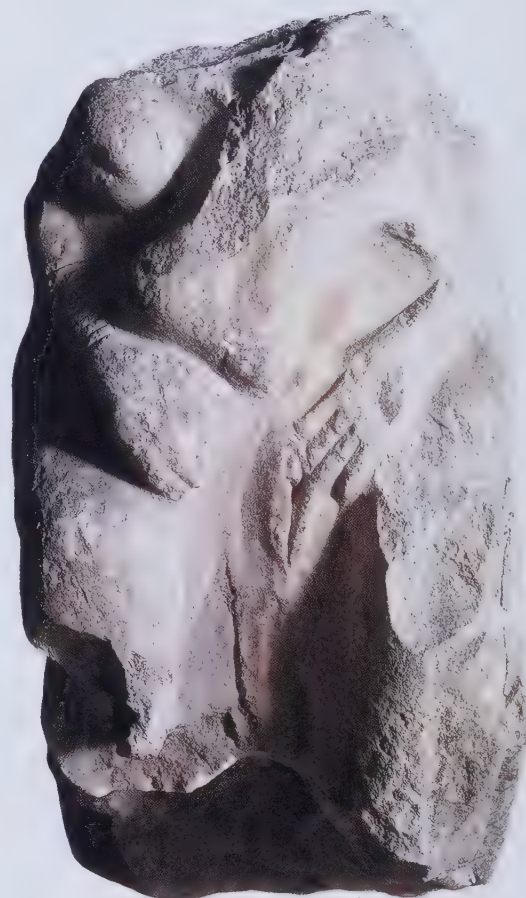
In addition to links with distant and considerably more advanced cultures, there were lively contacts and exchanges with neighbouring neolithic cultures: the Vučedol extended eastward, deep into Serbia, while the Vinča penetrated westward into eastern Slavonia (Gradac, Bapska). The aeneolithic culture of Slavonia (Sarvaš, Vukovar) spread into Istria (Boljun, a typical Vučedol flattened axe) and Slovenia (Ljubljansko Barje).

If the hunter was the bearer of palaeolithic culture, and the farmer and herder of the neolithic "earthen" period, the character of the bronze and iron "metal" ages was determined by the warrior, a new "vocation", and warfare, the permanent preoccupation of communities. This is evidenced by the quantity and importance of metal-weapon production (swords, daggers, spear-heads and arrows) and equally by the appearance of fortified settlements (*gradina*), surrounded by dry walls, strategically located on naturally protected sites all along the eastern Adriatic coast.

Particularly important are the Istrian and Kvarner hill-top "forts" built with dry or cyclopean walls in concentric circles and ovals, following the configuration of the terrain. Some of these, such as Picugi near Poreč, Nesactium near Pula, and Brijuni, are still relatively well preserved, while others determined the location and character of later Roman and medieval settlements, such as Pula, Boljun, Bale, Motovun, Beram, Barban, Labin, Kastav... Simultaneously, by the same dry wall method, dwellings were built of broken stone in the rocky regions of Istria, the coast and inland Dalmatia. These were circular structures covered with a conical slate roof of a type named *bunja*, *ćemer* or *kažun* that has an unbroken tradition in these areas down to the present day. The *bunja*, built of boulders deposited over thousands of years, serves as a storm shelter for farmers and wine-growers, and as a storage place for implements and crops.

In Pannonia, the fertile plain with abundant wood in northern Croatia, fortified earthworks encircled by palisades were raised in the metal age. Using rivers and other inland waters as natural protection, houses were also built on oak piles.

In this protohistorical period of the bronze and iron ages, the whole of the Balkans was inhabited by various Illyrian tribes, organised on the principle of a military democracy: the Histri (with their centre at Nesactium, Istria), Liburni (from the Kvarner region to the river Krka), Japodes (centred on Metulum, in what is now the Lika region), the Delmatae (centred on Delminium), Ardeici, etc. The Romans later named some of their provinces and regions after tribal names, which have survived as regional toponyms to the present day. The absolute domination of the Illyrians in the first, Hallstatt phase of the iron age was shaken by the Celts in



14. Fertility Goddess, relief from Nesactium (cca 500 B. C.) near Pula, bronze-iron age. Archaeological Museum, Pula. Illyrian stone sculpture originated from contact with Italic and Greek Archaic art.

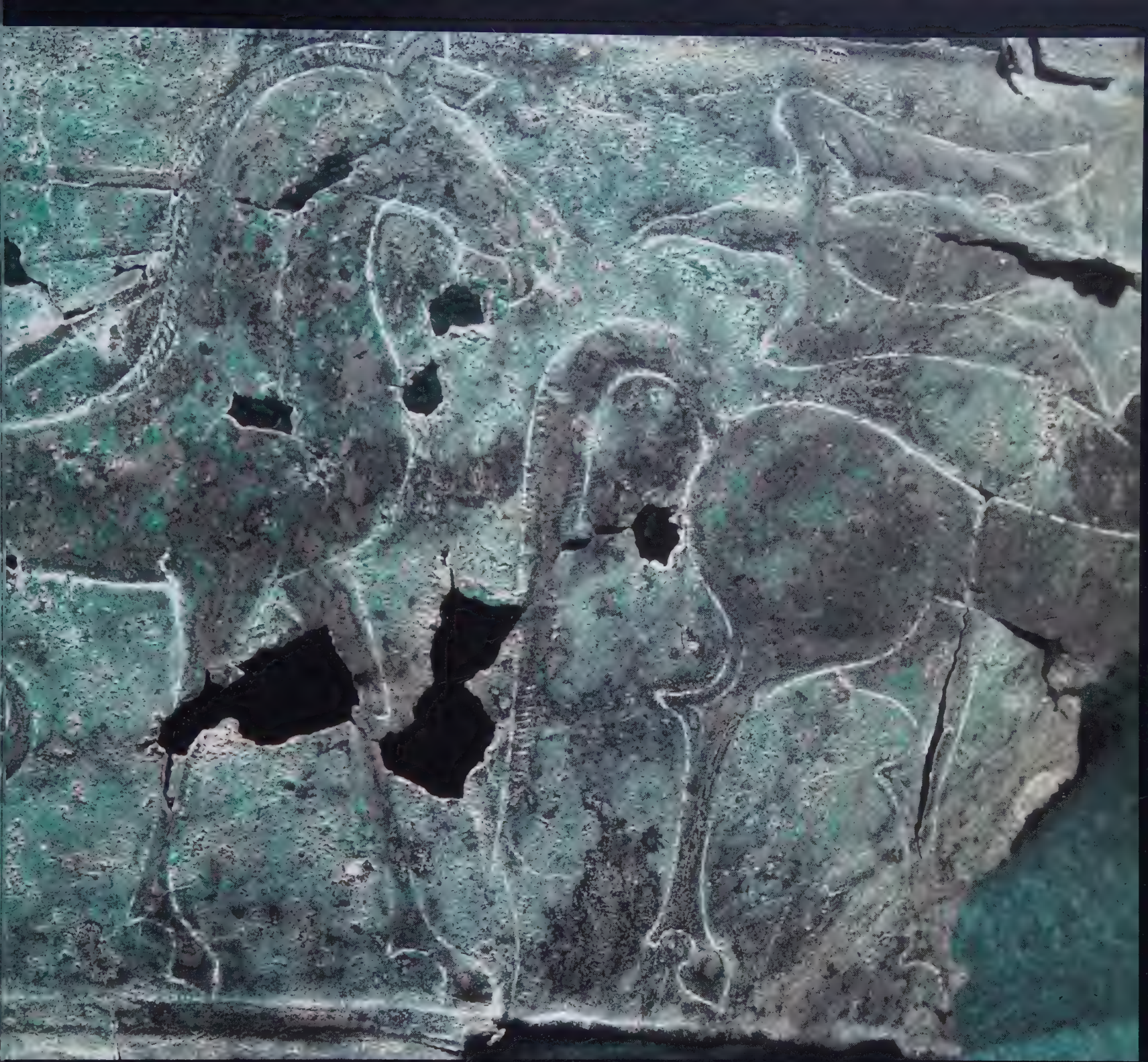
15.—16. Fragments of an Illyrian bronze situla from Nesactium. Archaeological Museum, Pula.



15



16





17

17.
Japodian bronze cap (500 BC).
Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. Decorated
with repoussé patterns and a metal fringe, it
was lined and covered on top with leather or
cloth. The typical "Lika cap" made of cloth
with a fringe on one side testifies to the
persistence of this tradition in the region's
folklore.

18.
Bronze fibula from Sviloš (1200 BC).
Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. The
ornamental brooch with the typical
bronze-age spiral motif indicates the
increased wealth of prominent individuals.

19.
Amber head from the Japodian necropolis at
Kompolje (500 BC). Archaeological Museum,
Zagreb. A flat piece of amber with relief
carving. This highly-prized substance was
transported from the shores of the North Sea
via the territory of present-day Yugoslavia
to Greece along the "Amber Road".

the second, La Tène phase. Their penetration in the 4th century BC was a major unifying factor in the culture of all prehistoric Europe from the Atlantic to the Black Sea. But the Illyrians soon assimilated and overwhelmed the Celts.

Along with characteristic innovations of the bronze age — the use of the horse as a draft animal, the potter's wheel and the manufacture of bronze implements (sickles) — the ornamental pin, the spiral fibula, may be taken as the hallmark of this period. And this in a double sense: in the first place, because the form and enormous number of examples of this ornament testify to the growing demands and economic possibilities of the individual, to his (modest) enrichment, and secondly, because the spiral fibula is a typical product made of bronze, the material which gave its name to the age.

From the standpoint of the theory of art history and the problem of interpreting works of art, the bronze fibula with its spiral design is a perfect example of the direct organic growth of form out of the properties of material (the easily bent but inert, non-elastic wire remains in the position and shape into which it is bent). It likewise exemplifies how the accumulation of quantity effects a qualitative change: when the "line" (wire) is formed into a close spiral it becomes a circular "plate" with quite new figural and physical qualities (firmness).

Some bronze fibulae, particularly the Japodian, are extremely elaborate, ornamented with pendants and amber, and complex in composition, averaging in size from an inch to a foot, but sometimes as much as a yard in length.

In the late iron age, the most powerful and populous centre was Glasinac, in neighbouring Bosnia, which has given its name to the Glasinac culture. The turbulence of those times is attested by the fact that there are almost no traces of settlements, only burial places, known as *gromile*, heaps of stones over the graves of the cremated dead — the "urn-burial culture" — with quantities of grave goods, mostly for warfare: spears, swords, helmets and shields, but also many bracelets. It seems as if in this period there was no settled habitation and people fled from one place to another.

Although objects from more advanced societies, such as the archaic Greek (at Vizače near Pula, from the 7th century BC) or Etruscan, had appeared sporadically on the territory of prehistoric Croatia much earlier on, the most powerful impact was felt with the culmination of Greek civilisation in the 4th century BC, and the founding of the first Greek cities on the Adriatic coast.



18



ANTIQUITY

Greek Colonisation of the Eastern Adriatic

(4th—2nd centuries BC)

20.

Woman at Work, Greek marble relief, 2nd century. Trogir City Museum. The simplicity, serenity and clarity of the composition are qualities typical of classical art.

21.

Kairos, marble relief, 1st century AD. Collection of the monastery of St Nicholas, Trogir. A Hellenistic sculpture of a running naked youth personifying the divinity of the "fleeting moment" or "lucky chance".

22.

Greek vase from Issa, island of Vis, with a scene of a woman at her toilet painted with refined skill on a black background.

23.

Figure of a Girl, 2nd century AD. Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. Numerous examples are found of terra-cotta female figurines known as tanagra ware.

20



History begins symbolically with writing, and on this territory with precise, reliable dates: thanks to the oldest inscriptions, we know that in 390 BC Greeks from Syracuse built fortifications on the island of Vis, and in 384 fought with the local population over the island of Hvar. Following the collapse of the Syracusan empire, Issa on Vis and Pharos (Starigrad) on Hvar became independent city-states. Issa subsequently established the Doric colony of Corcyra Nigra on Korčula, and on the mainland the towns of Tragurion (later Trogir), Salona and Epetion (Stobreč). But apart from superficial contacts, trade and warfare, these new communities lived isolated from their surroundings. The highly developed Hellenistic culture of the Greek enclaves existed parallel with the late iron age culture of the Illyro-Celtic population. From the same period, but in striking contrast, we find the dry stone or cyclopean walls encircling Illyrian hill-top settlements (like Nesactium) with their restricted ground-plan, and the Greeks' regular square building stones, precisely fitted together, in the continuous walls and towers of towns with geometrically aligned streets intersecting at right-angles, well-constructed harbours, squares and public buildings such as the temple and theatre (Vis). These urban Greek monuments testify to a more advanced social structure. The theatre, for instance, was not simply an architectural monument but a place for cultural communication through literature and drama, poetry and music.

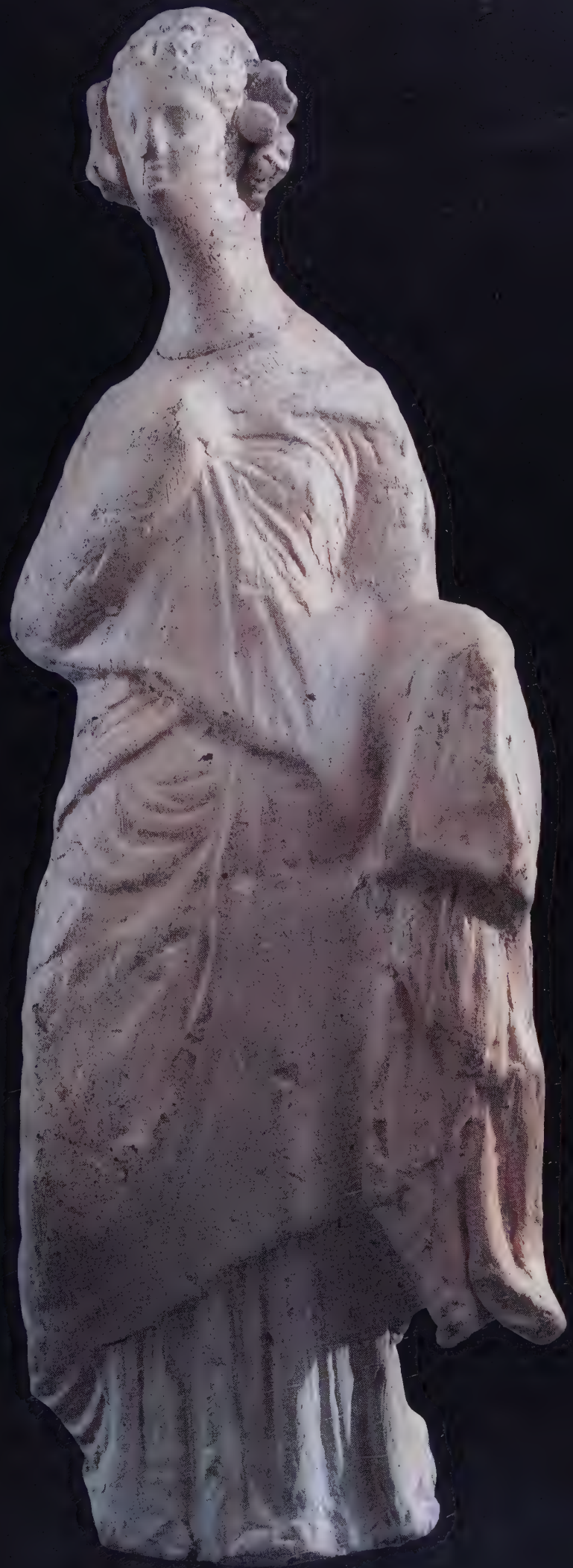
Unfortunately, little of this has been preserved, and much has yet to be investigated. The oldest Greek epigraphic monument that has been found to date (4th century BC), indeed, the earliest piece of writing on the territory of Yugoslavia, is a grave inscription in verse (hexameters and pentameters), celebrating the bravery of the deceased in a sea battle with the Illyrians. No monumental Greek sculpture has come down to us, only painted vases and numerous earthenware tanagra figures from graves. But the few chance finds — the bronze head of the goddess Artemis from Issa (4th century), the relief of Kairos from Trogir, some stela and a few other objects — are sufficient for us to perceive the high level of Hellenistic art in the technical perfection of execution and harmonious shaping of the human form, the sure composition and refinement of detail.

It is enough to compare any fragment of the noble and restrained Greek art with stone fragments from the Illyro-Celtic buildings at Nesactium with their crudely executed spiral patterns, or even meanders taken from Greek tradition. Again, a comparison between the typical Hellenistic marble relief of *Kairos* — divinity of the fleeting moment — from Tragurion (Trogir), perhaps brought to the town later, and the *Horseman*, a stone relief from Nesactium (an outstanding example of iron-age sculpture) will suffice to illuminate the differences in outlook and the gulf that separated these two neighbouring cultures on the artistic and spiritual planes in that period. In contrast to the softness of moulding of the Greek relief, conveying beneath the surface the play of straining muscles of the running naked youth, his hair streaming, while the back of the head is bald (for if you miss your chance, the "fleeting moment", you will never manage to grab it by the hair from behind as it passes you by), the stone carver from the centre of the Illyrian Histri treated the mass in summary fashion, roughly suggesting the parts of the body, and making no attempt at realistic proportions, let alone convincing presentation of the subject or definition of detail. Equally striking would be a comparison between the exquisite bronze head of a Greek goddess (Artemis?) from Vis, with silver whites of the eyes and long flowing hair, and the naturalistic, crudely carved figure of a fertility goddess from Nesactium.

The entire Greek interlude on the islands and eastern Adriatic coast was simply one such "fleeting moment": the brilliant noonday glow of a highly developed culture in a prehistoric environment where the dawn of civilisation was only just breaking.







Roman Urbanisation

(2nd century BC — 5th century)

At the time of the creation of the first strong Greek enclaves on the Adriatic, at Pharos and Issa, whose economic and military might was reflected in the minting of their own coins and the formation of a powerful fleet, the divided Illyrian tribes, following their own pace of development, reached the protohistorical level and created their first close-knit state organisation, centred around the Neretva and stretching from the river Krka to Epirus. The Illyrians captured Pharos and besieged Vis, Durres and Corfu. But at the end of the 3rd century BC their might was at first curtailed and, after two centuries of warfare, ultimately subdued by the Romans, who in the meantime had attained the cultural level of Hellenism, and were set on a course of military and economic expansion that would soon replace Greek domination in the Mediterranean. With the fall of Nesactium in 177 BC, the Roman legions finally conquered Istria. In 14 BC, Augustus incorporated the entire territory of Illyricum into the Roman Empire, and some twenty years later, during the reign of Tiberius, the last organised resistance by the Illyrians was crushed.

Like many other historical dates, these marking Roman expansion do not signify a total change in the society: parallel with the developed urban life of the conquerors and settlers in the newly-built Roman towns, the Illyrians continued to live in protohistorical conditions. Yet there was a fundamental difference between the impact of the Greeks in the 4th century BC and of the Romans at the beginning of the 1st century AD, for the latter penetrated to all regions of this territory, steadily turning the existing Illyrian fortified settlements (*gradina*) into towns (*civitas*) and founding many new cities here, as in other parts of Europe, pursuing their policy of urbanisation. In addition to towns encircled by walls and reinforced with towers, with paved streets and drainage, forums, temples, theatres, arenas, and baths, for which water was brought from great distances by aqueducts (the best preserved is that of Diocletian's Palace in Split) — the Romans built a dense network of excellent paved roads throughout the country, with viaducts, bridges and rest stations, and divided up the farmland around towns into regular fields (710 m square), distributing them among legionaries and colonists.

Even today, aerial photographs clearly reveal the pattern of the dividing walls and paths between the onetime fields (*ager*) in the surroundings of former large Roman cities. This scheme illustrates the high level of organisation and huge scale of the empire's intervention in the newly-conquered territories: radiating from Pula, for example, this parcelling up of farmland covered the entire southern part of Istria from the Lim fjord (Limski kanal) to the Raška bay. Extensive districts around Poreč, Zadar and Salona were similarly divided. As for road building on the territory of Yugoslavia, it was not until the 20th century that the network of first-class roads equalled in length and density the network of Roman stone-paved roads.

If, in addition to this, we consider the great number of towns — in the coastal region alone there were around fifty — with the mentioned high level of urban amenities and homes furnished with a vast inventory of household goods of excellent quality, and, finally, the fact that this huge step forward from prehistory into history was achieved in a relatively short period, there can be no gainsaying that the first urbanisation of these regions, and of the greater part of Europe, was a feat that far surpassed that other, qualitatively new, urbanisation in the 19th century brought about by the industrial revolution. Even today, for example, regional planning in most European countries has not reached the level it attained in antiquity, and nowhere has the relationship between a large town and its environs been so systematically organised as it was in Roman times with the distribution of farmland around towns (bearing in mind, of course, the different economic conditions then and now). The level of Roman spatial organisation is equally well demonstrated by the *villae rusticae* and the rural settlements, of which the one on Verige Bay in the Brijuni islands is the best example.



24

24.
Head of Hercules from Čitluk near Sinj, 2nd century AD. Archaeological Museum, Split.
A fine example of Roman art of the classical period.

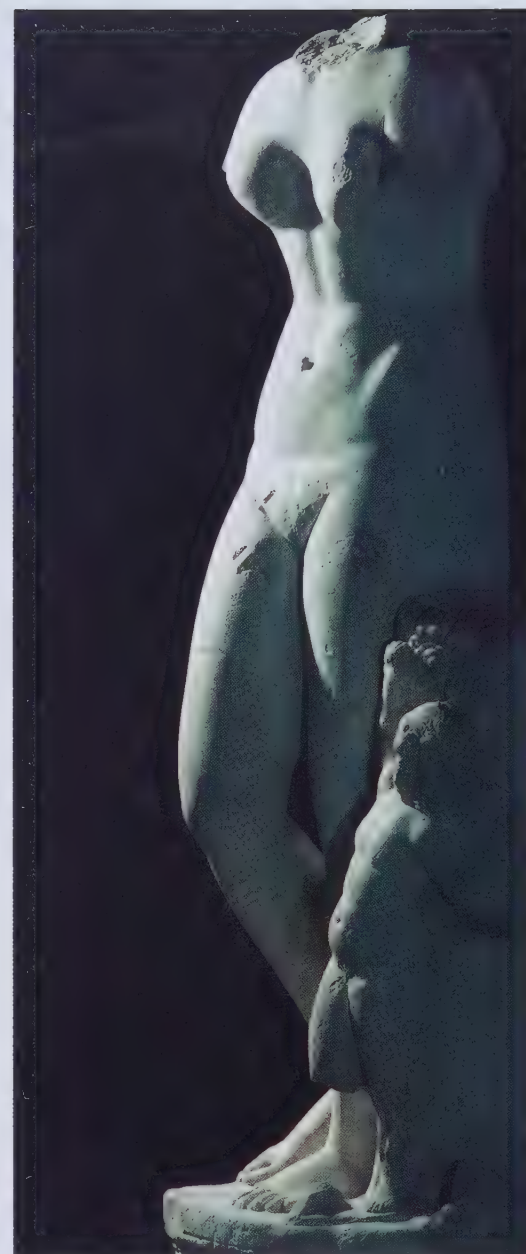
Relatively little has been preserved of all these tremendous efforts and transformations, and much remains to be discovered by archaeological research. Nevertheless, if we connect the numerous scattered traces we can arrive at an approximate reconstruction of the whole, and grasp its significance.

Some newly-built Roman towns retained the oval ground-plan and concentric or radial streets of older protohistorical settlements (Pula, Trogir), but the majority used the typical Roman lay-out, Hellenistic in origin, of streets intersecting at right-angles (Poreč, Zadar), even on sites where the configuration of the ground suggested less rigid solutions, as at Krk or at Nin, surrounded by water.

The thirty or so towns of Istria, Liburnia and Dalmatia that enjoyed Roman civic status (*civitas*) have had varying destinies. Some have grown into sizable industrial or commercial centres, such as Pula, Albona (Labin), Trsat (Rijeka); many have remained relatively small towns, such as Senia (Senj), Crexa (Cres), Curicum (Krk), Arba (Rab), Tragurium (Trogir) or are now tiny places, like Aenona (Nin), Fulfinum (Omišalj) or Scardona (Skradin); others, such as Salona and Epidaurus (Cavtat), were abandoned during the barbarian incursions, subsequently falling into ruins, or lingered on into the middle ages but later becoming deserted — Varvaria (Bribir), Argyruntum (Starigrad below Mt Velebit), Nedinum (Nadin), Burnum (Ivoševci). Finally, there are some whose sites are now unknown — Pasinum in central Dalmatia, for instance. The towns of Parentium — Poreč and Iadera — Zadar, though completely reconstructed in later periods, still retain the Roman urban lay-out and street plan.

Of all the mentioned cities of the early Roman phase, most Roman monuments have been preserved in Pula, founded in the 1st century in memory of Julius Caesar (Pola Colonia Pietas Julia). These mostly belong to the classical period of Roman art: long stretches of city walls, two city gates and a monumental arch, two temples in the forum and remains of two theatres, the huge shell of the Flavian amphitheatre, and numerous traces of buildings, architectural fragments, floor mosaics, sculpture and other remains. The monumental stone arch, raised in about AD 30 in honour of three notable men of the Sergii family, is a classical architectural structure like a triumphal arch, with pilasters and semi-columns, capitals, friezes, and a coffered intrados. It is richly ornamented with reliefs: weapons in the frieze, putti with garlands, and large figures of Winged Victory above the arches. The vine-leaf patterns on the piers of the arches were to be imitated in the late 13th century by the sculptor of the portal of the Franciscan church in Pula. From the Renaissance to the period of neo-classicism in the 19th century, this exceptionally well preserved monument of antiquity was studied and sketched by outstanding artists: Sangallo, Serlio, Michelangelo and Palladio in the 16th century, and later Piranesi, Cassas, Robert Adam and others. Of the two symmetrically placed temples on the narrower side of the forum in Pula, the southern — the temple of Augustus (built between 2 and 14 AD) — is still preserved in all its classical purity and monumentality, but the other was incorporated in the 13th century into the town hall, reconstructed with the addition of a portico in the 15th century and otherwise altered in later times.

All that is left of Salona, main city of the Roman province of Dalmatia, is extensive ruins. These have been often studied ever since the Renaissance, but no comprehensive archaeological excavation of the whole urban area has been undertaken. Even so, the city's development from Greek and Roman settlements that were subsequently joined (hence the plural form of the city's name, Salona) has been established, the entire perimeter of the city walls with their towers and gates has been traced, and remains of a temple, theatre and amphitheatre have been excavated. From these, and from the size of the aqueduct and baths, it can be estimated that this was a large city of about 40,000 inhabitants.



25. Venus with Cupid, 1st century. Archaeological Museum, Split. This harmoniously proportioned and softly modelled marble nude representing the goddess of earthly love is a work of classical Roman sculpture.

26. Portrait of a Young Woman, marble sculpture from Salona, mid-1st century AD. Archaeological Museum, Zagreb. The treatment of the hair is naturalistic, while the soft modelling of the ivory-coloured marble suggests the complexion of a living woman. The inserts which imitated the colour and gleam of the eyes have been lost from the eye-sockets.

27. Minerva, marble sculpture from Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae), mid-2nd century AD. The figure has retained its monumentality despite the loss of the head and arms. The beautiful proportions of the body can be discerned beneath the classically arranged folds of the tunic.



26





28



28.
Temple of Augustus in Pula, early 1st century AD.

29.
Triumphal Arch of the Sergii in Pula. The arch was raised by Salvia (29—28 BC) in honour of her relatives of the Sergii family. The harmonious proportions, fine relief ornamentation and Corinthian capitals of classical Roman art attracted Serlio, Palladio and many other Renaissance architects.

30.
Hippolytus and Phaedra, central portion of a sarcophagus relief, 2nd century AD. Archaeological Museum, Split.

29



Although not a single monument has been preserved intact, as at Pula, Salona is of importance for the late phase of Roman art because of its exceptional remains of Early Christian architecture. It was precisely by studying these — the large episcopal complex (*basilica urbana*) and several other Early Christian basilicas in the city and at the cemeteries around — that archaeologists attempted to elucidate a series of important problems concerning the development of Christian architecture, such as the origin and evolution of the basilica and the significance of the cult of martyrs in influencing the form of religious buildings. Study of the monuments in the Salonitan necropolises of Marusinac and Manastirine revealed that above and around the graves of the 4th-century Christian martyrs Domnius, first bishop of Salona, and Anastasius (later popularly known as St Dujam and St Staš) monumental basilicas were raised in the 5th century.

The origin of “twin basilicas” (*basilicae geminae*), built side by side as in the episcopal complex at Salona and at Marusinac, is likewise explained by the fact that one was dedicated to the official cult and the other to the martyr’s cult, to which the common people were particularly devoted. Twin basilicas of this kind have also been discovered at Pula, Nesactium and Poreč, and on the Brijuni islands. The unusual width of the nave of the northern basilica at Marusinac, apart from indicating a connection with the Peristyle (forecourt) of Diocletian’s Palace, was interpreted by the Danish archaeologist, Dyggve, as showing it to be of the “roofless basilica” type (*basilica discoperta*) — or more exactly, an atrium surrounded by a covered walk, intended for the performance of rites of a sepulchral cult in the open air.

Just as in history the end of one era often overlaps the beginning of another, so the Early Christian period is both the last phase of the art of late antiquity and the genesis of medieval art. Christianity was one sign of the crisis of the Roman world and a cause of the disintegration of its ideology. An enormous number of remains of Early Christian buildings are to be found in Roman cities. Besides the basilicas, an influence on subsequent architectural development was exerted by the small churches without aisles on estates, and also, later, in the 6th century, by the “complex” basilicas in rural environments in the hinterland and on the islands. These “complex” basilicas combined within one building all the functions which in the large episcopal complexes were performed in a series of separate structures: the baptistry, atrium, cathecumeneum, etc, reducing all these to parts of the same building. Such churches have been discovered in Istria, and on the islands of Brač and Šolta.

The largest Roman monument in Croatia, and perhaps the most important and best preserved monument of late antiquity in Europe, is the palace which Emperor Diocletian had built on the coast near Salona, and to which he retired after his abdication in AD 305. This vast structure covering about 38,000 square metres is rectangular (215 × 180 m), with massive walls fortified with rectangular towers at each corner and octagonal ones at the three land gates. The palace displays the severity and structural clarity of classical planning and design in its symmetrical lay-out with two intersecting streets and the functional arrangement of the premises — the imperial apartments beside the sea, the central cult area with three small temples and the emperor’s large mausoleum, and the quarters for the garrison and servants in the northern part. But the architectural forms reflect the plurality of artistic styles characteristic of the late imperial age, when the vast empire absorbed the most varied cultural influences. This is not only evident from the granite sphynxes imported from Egypt and some oriental elements in the construction and decoration, but is symbolically displayed in the most prominent part of the palace, the façade of the imperial apartments towards the central square surrounded by a peristyle (hence the name *Peristil* applied to it). Here on the shallow triangular pediment of the prothyron, the architrave and the arch have been eclectically joined by inserting the arch in the centre, thereby combining the two







31.

Amphitheatre in Pula, 2nd century AD. The outer shell of the oval amphitheatre (132 × 105 m) is completely preserved up to the top frieze (height c. 32 m), but the interior construction for seating spectators has disappeared, carried off for building stone in later centuries.

different constructional principles and symbols of the architecture of two civilisations: Greek (the beam) and Roman (the arch).

An even more striking sign of the profound crisis in the world and society of late antiquity is the loss of classical balance between a building and its ornamentation which is discernible in the palace. In the interior of Diocletian's octagonal mausoleum, between the alternating square and rounded niches, massive ornamental piers stand forward of the wall, bearing an overheavy entablature which, devoid of any structural logic, is simply an end in itself. A similar lack of balance is evident in the relationship of the smooth wall surfaces of the temple of Jupiter within the palace and the ornate coffered ceiling of the interior or the prominent frieze on the exterior.

The excellently preserved underground chambers in the southern part of the palace enable us to make a precise mental reconstruction of the appearance and lay-out of the later demolished imperial apartments above them, since their ground-plans were identical. At the same time they illustrate the rich variety of architectural forms in late antiquity. Diocletian's Palace is a compendium of the classical architectural heritage, an encyclopaedia of the diverse ground-plans and constructions used in antiquity: longitudinal structures with and without aisles; square, circular, quatrefoil, cruciform and octagonal ground-plans, with semi-circular and square niches; barrel, cross and domical vaulting — are all to be found here.

The central structures are dominant among the monuments surviving above ground within the palace. In addition to the Vestibulum with a dome — the communications centre of the palace, the octagonal dining-room



32.

Central hall of the underground chambers of Diocletian's Palace, Split, early 4th century. The massive piers are of great stone blocks, while the vaulting is of lighter tufa. The former imperial apartments above had the same lay-out.

33.



(*triclinium*) and octagonal imperial mausoleum, also domed, beside the rectangular Small Temple (to Jupiter?), there were two other, circular temples (to Cybele and Venus). In many ways, Diocletian's Palace, a mixture of antique styles, is of crucial significance as a work standing between the polytheistic classical and medieval Christian civilisations — Diocletian himself was the last pagan emperor — and as such is of exceptional importance for our understanding of the influence of the heritage of antiquity on early medieval art.

The fact that the Roman age on the territory of Croatia covers two distinct periods of art history: the classical (1st and 2nd centuries), as seen in the monuments at Pula, and that of late antiquity (3rd to 5th centuries), as represented by Diocletian's Palace, can be perceived with even greater clarity in the sculpture. In addition to the standard Roman production of stone sculpture and reliefs, and also the numerous small bronzes found throughout the territory, in the northern parts of Croatia as well as in the southern (rich archaeological museums in Zadar, Split, Pula and Zagreb), we have several works of exceptional expressiveness and artistic quality, such as the heads of a boy, a girl and a woman from Salona, the monumental statue of Minerva from Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*), the head of Hercules from Sinj, statues of Roman emperors from Nin, and the damaged statue of an emperor in Zagreb Archaeological Museum. All these and other works of the early empire belong to the classical period of Roman art, and display a harmonious relationship of the real and the ideal, the chance and the perfect, the individual and the typical, similar to that attained five hundred years earlier in Greek sculpture of the classical age.



34



33.
Early Christian sarcophagus with a relief of The Good Shepherd from Salona, early 4th century. Archaeological Museum, Split. The crude artistic forms of late antiquity are evident in the linear folds and disproportionate figures. The deceased husband and wife are over-large in relation to the members of their household.

34.
Remains of the basilica of St Mary on the Brijuni islands, 5th century. Apart from the few well-preserved monuments of antiquity in Split and Pula, most Roman buildings are now only ruins or archaeological sites.







35.
Diocletian's Palace as it appears today in an aerial view of Split. The city grew up in the middle ages inside the rectangular fortified palace. The octagonal imperial mausoleum (4th century) later became the cathedral, to which a Romanesque-Gothic bell-tower was added in the 14th century.

36.
The Punishment of Dirca, Pula, 2nd century AD. This skilfully composed large floor mosaic of a mythological scene once belonged to a Roman public building. The border pattern was later to be imitated by Pre-Romanesque plaitwork reliefs.

37.
Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split, early 4th century. Serving as the square between the temples and mausoleum, it has a characteristic late-antique pediment enclosing an arch above the entrance to the vestibule and the underground chambers.





38

38.
The Visitation, the meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth when each was expecting a child, is often depicted in medieval art, but never with as much realism as in the mosaic in Poreč basilica (mid-6th century) showing the clearly pregnant mothers of Christ and John the Baptist.

39.
Apse of the basilica of Bishop Euphrasius in Poreč, 6th century. Apart from the beauty of its mosaics and incrustation, this splendid monument of the first "golden age" of Byzantine art is notable for its iconographic innovations: the Virgin Mary enthroned in the central conch (instead of Christ) reflects the new cult of the Virgin that emerged after lengthy theological debate. The 13th-century ciborium is decorated with mosaics of Venetian workmanship.

While the perception of the artistic qualities of this sculpture is immediate and simultaneous, the enumeration of its component elements could continue indefinitely: structural clarity of composition, harmony of proportions, nobility of figure, individuality of portraiture, the natural way in which garments fall in folds or cling to the contours of the body, the convincing movements, masterly treatment of surfaces (roughness of hair, smoothness of skin) . . .

As time passed, there was a steady increase in the number of figural grave monuments with relief portraits of the deceased, usually married couples, but also a progressive decline in their quality. The disintegration of this set of values and depletion of accumulated knowledge was a gradual process over two centuries, so that by the end of the Roman epoch a completely different world was captured in the stone of sculpture and reliefs. The human figures are flattened into the slab; the feeling for the relationship of body and garments has been lost, and clothing is repressed by lifeless, parallel, shallow folds, or even reduced to "lines"; the treatment of the facial features is coarse and schematic, as in the stela from Čitluk.

These primitive reliefs are contemporary with the collapse of the Roman *limes* — the frontier defence system along the Danube — under barbarian pressure from without, and bear silent witness to barbarianisation of the empire from within. The crisis of the empire, which had begun to disintegrate through over expansion, the crisis of the whole socio-economic system, the ideological crisis accentuated by the replacement of pagan polytheism by monotheistic Christianity — first among the lower strata and then as the state religion — as well as the crisis of urban society as a whole, were all reflected in the arts — in the chaotic composition of reliefs and lack of refinement of the figures.

In the relief compositions of the Good Shepherd and the Crossing of the Red Sea on the 4th-century Early Christian sarcophagi from Salona, although both were imported from Rome, no attention is paid to the classical rule of proportion, harmony of the whole, and division of space. In place of gradation of depth, the stocky figures of men and horses fill up the space with their bloated volume as, crowded together without perspective, they perish in the waves of the Red Sea — a fate similar to that of the Western Roman Empire, soon to be inundated by waves of barbarians.

* * *

But the "fall of the Roman Empire", usually dated 495, was not the real end of antiquity, for only thirty or so years later Justinian, ruler of the East, restored the Roman Empire by reconquering the western territories and uniting them with the eastern. On his march of conquest from Constantinople to Ravenna, where he was to establish the new western capital (535), Justinian raised a number of monumental buildings along the eastern Adriatic coast. In this early Byzantine period, a large new cruciform basilica and an octagonal baptistry, modelled on Diocletian's mausoleum, were built in the episcopal complex at Salona, but only their foundations remain. Of the large aisled basilica raised by Bishop Maximilian of Ravenna in Pula at the same time, one of the two memorial chapels is all that has survived, and only traces are left of many other buildings.

In contrast, the imposing episcopal complex in Poreč is exceptionally well preserved and embodies all the highest qualities of early Byzantine art of the 6th century. The square atrium is flanked on the western side by an octagonal baptistry and on the eastern by a tripartite basilica (i. e. having a nave and two aisles) with three apses. This is connected with a trefoil memorial chapel with an ellipsoid forecourt. To the north of the atrium stands an ecclesiastical building (cathecumeneum), also divided with columns and having three apses.

Like the cruciform basilica of Honorius at Salona of the same epoch, Bishop Euphrasius' basilica in Poreč was built on the site of the southern church of twin basilicas from the 5th century. In Poreč, the northern



church, without aisles, dedicated to the cult of St Maurus, remained in use. Thus the twin-church composition was retained, though the two differed in shape and size. As at Salona, archaeological evidence makes it possible to trace the development of the Poreč episcopal complex from a simple room in a private house where Maurus gathered the first Christian community.

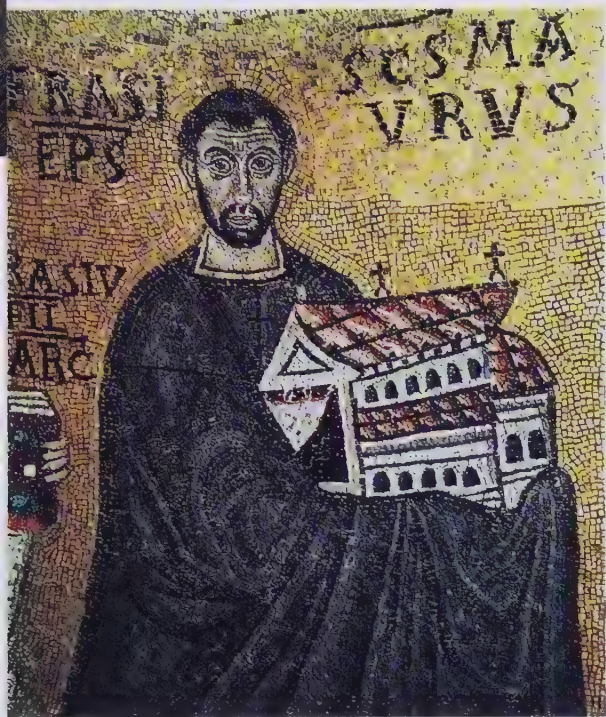
After Emperor Constantine's edict of toleration in the 4th century, this oratory was "twinning", and in the 5th century the northern part was enlarged and southern replaced by an aisled hall-type basilica with a semi-circular bench instead of an apse (the floor mosaics from this building are preserved below the present floor). This basilica was rebuilt by Euphrasius in the 6th century.

In the new stylistic language of the first "golden age" of Byzantine art, in the 6th century, the tactile principle gave way to the optical. Even elements which by the nature of their material and function have volume and solidity, such as stone capitals, were given a lacelike perforated surface, with effective contrasts of light and shade, while the supporting function was taken over by a strong inserted impost. The arches of the colonnades are decorated with stucco-work. The lower part of the apse is faced with multi-coloured inlaid marble and mother-of-pearl, while the upper is covered with monumental mosaic compositions.

The mosaic in the conch of the main apse is a typical symmetrical Byzantine composition: a row of figures arranged in frontal position at regular intervals, calm and dignified in bearing, as though for a while all the horrors of those troubled times had vanished, and with them the nightmare events that swallowed up men and horses, as we saw on the Early Christian relief from Salona. A closer study of these austere compositions reveals, within the stylisation, a series of realistic details. The portrait of the founder holding a model of the church, the capable, determined, but vainglorious Bishop Euphrasius (as testified by the overlong and somewhat boastful inscription), suggestively conveys character, as do the portraits of Archdeacon Claudius and his son. The whole group stands on a green sward dotted with naturalistic flowers, while a multitude of colourful clouds float in the golden sky above them.

In the scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation, even the central zone of gold is missing: the background aspires to the Hellenistic "impressionist" illusion of atmospheric space with its horizontal zones of different colours by which the artist suggests the green of nature, the blue of the sky and the rosy tone of the horizon at sunset. Despite the intractable mosaic technique, the master of the Annunciation skilfully created the impression of a transparent veil thrown over the Virgin's crimson cloak. The self-confidence with which the living bishop, the archdeacon and even the latter's son (!) join in the holy scene in Paradise is even more pronounced than in contemporary mosaics in San Vitale in Ravenna, where Emperor Justinian himself and Empress Theodora are shown, more modestly, outside the central, heavenly scene, on the side walls of the sanctuary. With their emphasis on the Virgin Mary, whose figure, enthroned, is placed in the centre and top of the apse, the most prominent position (at San Vitale this is still reserved for Christ), the Poreč mosaics signify a turning-point in Christian iconography for the cult of the Virgin. Similarly, by introducing the triple-apse construction and three altars, which thenceforth was to become the rule, this basilica marks an innovation in church architecture. Until then, there could be only one altar in the church, and therefore only one apse — hence the practice of raising a separate "parallel" church for the "second" altar over a martyr's grave, for veneration of his relics.

No less important are the other early Byzantine features of the Poreč basilica, such as the technique of building with layers of broken-stone slabs, the semi-circular main apse which is polygonal on the exterior, and the lateral apses enclosed in the mass of the wall and imperceptible on the outside — for this was to become characteristic of Istrian Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque architecture.



40.
Portrait of Bishop Euphrasius, mosaic in Poreč basilica, 6th century. The Poreč bishop responsible for the building and lavish decoration of the basilica is shown holding a model of the church standing beside the Virgin Mary.

41.
Scenes from the Life of Christ, ivory plenarium 11th century. Treasury of Zagreb cathedral. The schematic figures, stylised movements, flatness and lack of proportion are features of the second phase of middle Byzantine art similar to contemporary Pre-Romanesque art in the West. Clarity of narrative is achieved by summary artistic means. The scenes run from top to bottom on the left, and from below upwards on the right.



PRE-ROMANESQUE
*The First
 Croatian State*
 (9th—11th centuries)

Justinian's reconquest was an attempt to hold back the tide of history. The territory which he had briefly wrested back from the Ostrogoths (535) was penetrated as early as 568 by the Langobards, who occupied northern Italy, while the area between them and Byzantium was soon to be settled by the Slavs (Slav graves at Buzet, Motovun and Vižinada in Istria). At the beginning of the 7th century, a mass of Avars and Slavs entered the territory of present-day Croatia in the movement that has justly been called the "great migration of peoples".

Historical sources record, and archaeological evidence confirms, their incursions and ravages from Constantinople and Salonica in the south-east to Nesactium and Buzet in Istria, in the north-west. A particularly deep imprint on historical memory was left by the fall of the main city of Dalmatia, Salona (614), since this signified the definite end of antiquity.

From then on, for the next two centuries, historical events were to go unrecorded, for the barbarian newcomers were not yet literate, and the numerically reduced and terrified inhabitants of the region were preoccupied with the struggle for survival. But from later writings, when historical events again began to be recorded in the 9th century, we know that in the meantime several important processes had evolved. The Slavs had assimilated the Avars, and the Croats, settled in the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia and the region of Histria, had formed their first close-knit state organisation, adopting Christianity and — in the upper strata of society — becoming acquainted with the Latin language and alphabet. This was symbolically expressed in the Latin inscription on the hexagonal stone font of Prince Višeslav, one of the earliest Croatian monuments (8th century): "This source refreshes the weak..." Significant changes had also occurred in the utilisation of land and organisation of settlements.

The surviving inhabitants of the Roman cities, who had retreated before the Avar-Slav incursions into smaller and better fortified or more easily defensible areas, did not always return to the towns. A typical choice of refuge site in the Europe of that time was in a lagoon — as at Venice, for example, or on an island, such as Grado in the northern Adriatic. Similarly, on the southern Adriatic, the people of Epidaurus (Cavtat), according to legend, took refuge on the tiny isle of Ragusium, close to the shore, which was later to be connected with a nearby Slav settlement and take its name: Dubrovnik.

Neither did the refugees from Salona return to their city, but settled inside Diocletian's Palace, a fortress suited to the new conditions of life, which before long would develop into the Slavified medieval town of Split. The Croat newcomers did not rebuild great Salona either, but for their new settlement, the small town of Solin, chose a naturally protected site well placed for communications at Otok (Island) and around the mouth of the river Jadro. We know that Solin became one of the centres of the early medieval Croatian state, for a tomb inscription found in the ruins of the church of St Stephen "at Otok" is dedicated to Queen Jelena (+ 976) "widow of King Mihajlo (Krešimir), mother of King Stjepan (Držislav)". The church nave was separated from the lateral aisles by stone-built columns, and had a square apse. The narthex, where Queen Jelena's sarcophagus was found, served as a mausoleum. The vestibule of the church had a gallery and two towers at the sides, a sign of Carolingian influence.

On the area of Early Croatian Solin the remains have been found of two other buildings equally important from both the historical and art-history standpoints. One, the church "at Gradina" (6th century), with its almost square ground-plan and unusual octagonal central area with columns — long thought to have been intended for coronation ceremonies — belongs to the Byzantine tradition (the type of SS Sergius and Bachus in Salonica). The other, the aisled basilica of SS Peter and Moses, exemplifies the combination of regional Early Croatian traditions with the new architectural forms spread by the Benedictines from the mid-11th century. Instead of the characteristic



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42. Chapel of St Martin, Split, created by the adaptation of the Pre-Romanesque guard post over the north gate of Diocletian's Palace. Their modest scale is one of the characteristics of most early medieval buildings.

43. Church of the Holy Cross, Nin, 9th century. This typical pre-Romanesque Dalmatian church has a cruciform ground-plan, with two small apses on the arms, and a dome with squinches.





44.
Church of St Peter at Priko, Omiš,
9th century. This building without aisles has
a small dome over the central bay and a
square apse, decorated on the exterior with
pilaster strips and a frieze of arcading.

44

smooth wall surfaces of the Benedictine aisled basilica and its three semi-circular apses, the walls here are divided within and without by lesenes (pilaster strips), while the apses are incorporated in the wall mass of the flat eastern façade, the central one being rectangular. All these are features of early Pre-Romanesque architecture. This was the coronation church of Croatian King Zvonimir, who, according to records, was crowned in a church of this name by a legate of Pope Gregory VII in 1076.

When we say that the inhabitants of Salona moved into Diocletian's Palace, we are noting one of the major differences between antiquity and the middle ages in architecture and urban lay-out: the change in scale. The city moving into the palace means, in other words, that a Roman palace (Diocletian's) was spacious enough to contain an entire medieval town (Split). The transition from late antiquity, including the Early Christian and early Byzantine phases, to the early medieval epoch can perhaps best be followed and understood by examining the transformation of Salona and Diocletian's Palace.

In the turbulent times of population movements in the 7th century, the large 5th-century Early Christian basilicas at the cemeteries around Salona were destroyed. The only building to survive was the smallest but most strongly built — the mausoleum (of St Anastasius?, 4th century) at Marusinac, its barrel vaulting reinforced with ribs and buttressed externally by massive counterforts (an example of Syrian influence). The martyr Anastasius was drowned, with a millstone round his neck, in the river Jadro. His relics and those of the first bishop of Salona, Domnius, were later translated to Split. Domnius (Dujam) became the town's patron saint, his relics and those of St Anastasius (Staš) being placed on the altars of Split cathedral.

From the 4th century, when pagan cults were replaced by Christianity, Diocletian's mausoleum (with the tomb in the lower part and the imperial cult area above it) was used as a church, and after the destruction of Salona, as the cathedral of Split, while the Small Temple in the palace became the baptistry. A further example of the modest scale of Pre-Romanesque life is the adaptation of the former guard posts above the northern and western palace gates into small churches. In the confined space of one (St Martin) a stone altar enclosure was placed, while above the other (St Theodore, "Our Lady of the Belfry") a small belfry was built. Also preserved are some Pre-Romanesque houses built within the spacious palace apartments in rough broken stone with small arched apertures, a few set in stone frames carved with plaitwork ornamentation.

Along with the abandonment of large cities and move to smaller ones, the reduction of large Roman buildings to more modest dimension and purposes, and the use of architectural fragments (*spolia*) as building material for rough adaptation, other characteristics of this transitional period are the decline in the quality of building techniques and the shallowness of relief in stone carving. When, in the 9th century, reliably dated buildings and stone reliefs reappeared, together with a series of carved inscriptions and written documents testifying to the existence of an organised Croatian state — a principality until the 10th century and then a kingdom — they would display the features of the new artistic style known in European art chronology as Pre-Romanesque.

This style, its significance and origin have given rise to many theories, and are still a subject of debate. One of the key questions is the relationship with antiquity: whether Pre-Romanesque is a continuation of the art of its predecessors (the theory of the continuity of antiquity) or whether, following a break, it constitutes an autochthonic innovation of the new inhabitants (the so-called barbarian theory). Seeking models for some Pre-Romanesque forms or individual monuments, scholars have put forward a mass of hypotheses: on the tradition of late antiquity, Early Christian and early Byzantine art, on the influence of the Goths, Langobards and Franks, as well as middle Byzantine, Syrian, Persian, Armenian and oriental influences in general, and finally the Nordic and proto-Slav contribution.

It would appear, however, that all this can be reduced to four main components in the formation of Pre-Romanesque art: two traditional — the art of late antiquity (4th and 5th centuries) and early Byzantium (6th century), whose influence was mainly exerted by way of monuments and through continuity in a given area, and two contemporary components influential in the 9th century which acted simultaneously from without — the western Frankish and the eastern Byzantine of the second “golden age”, during the reign of the Macedonian dynasty.

The Frankish contribution was long underestimated and only occasionally mentioned by scholars, even though the political history of the time points towards it: it was precisely through Croatian territory that the claimants to the Roman imperial heritage, Byzantine Emperor Michael (by reason of the continuity of the Eastern Empire) and Charlemagne (reviver of the Western Empire) demarcated their spheres of interest at the Peace of Aachen (812).

The Carolingian square apse, such as the palace chapel at Aachen — the archetypal monument of the Frankish Empire — originally had, appears regularly in Pre-Romanesque architecture from Istria to Dubrovnik and Kotor, as does the typical Carolingian westwork of a church, combining vestibule and towers (in Istria, on the Kvarner islands and in the Dalmatian hinterland). In the mentioned division of spheres of interest in 812, the Roman cities and islands of “Byzantine Dalmatia” (Krk, Osor, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik, Svač, Ulcinj and Bar) remained under Byzantine sovereignty, while the hinterland and continental regions belonged to the Franks; at the same time, ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Dalmatia gravitated to the Church of Rome, and not Constantinople. This created the complex and volatile situation in which political ties were with the East and religious with the West.

Much architecture and sculpture from the Pre-Romanesque period has been preserved along the entire coastal region of Croatia. Scholars have differed in their interpretation of its significance and estimation of its value. For the most part they have been content to point to its modest size, lack of refinement in execution and the irregular shape of its buildings as negative qualities, but stress has also been laid on the originality and independence of influences shown in the diverse types of ground-plan of the little churches, the “free forms” and regular use of vaulting, or on the complex significance of every irregularity and the excellence of design even in the smallest structures.

It is not only the diversity but also the quantity of the Early Croatian monuments that give them an exceptional place in the European artistic heritage. From the baroque until the early 20th century, the coastal region of Croatia was an economic backwater where there was progressively less building activity. This resulted in the preservation of a large number of small, unpretentious Pre-Romanesque churches or ruins that would have been rebuilt or demolished in more prosperous conditions.

The plaitwork ornamentation of Pre-Romanesque reliefs over the vast area of the former Western Roman Empire shows marked similarities, though this is hardly surprising in view of the common classical substratum from which it developed and the similar living conditions of those for whom it was intended. Thus, some Pre-Romanesque capitals at Angers in western France are close, for instance, to those of the Zadar church of St Lawrence (Sveti Lovro), while fragments of 9th-century plaitwork in southern Germany resemble Dalmatian plaitwork carving.

The large number of Pre-Romanesque buildings on the eastern Adriatic coast could have been raised only by intensive building and stone-carving activity on the part of a great many local craftsmen and workshops. This heritage undoubtedly owes much to the building and stoneworking traditions on this territory and to the high quality of Dalmatian stone (the quarries on Brač and Korčula, near Trogir and elsewhere were well known in antiquity) which were also to feature notably in the art of later periods.

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45.

Orant, fragment of a pilaster from the basilica of St Michael, Banjole, near Vodnjan, one of the few extant examples of stone-carving from the transitional period between late antiquity and the Early Christian era (7th—8th century). Despite the frontal and linear features, the Pre-Romanesque plaitwork style is still not developed here.



46.
Church of St Donatus, Zadar, 9th century.
View of the eastern side where, instead of
massive piers on the ground floor and
gallery, double columns frame the tripartite
opening towards the three apses. The
original dome was replaced by a wooden
roof.

47.
Church of St Donatus, Zadar, 9th century.
The largest Pre-Romanesque building in
Croatia, it is also one of the most impressive
churches of centralised type of the
Carolingian period in Europe. The circular
church, formerly domed, has three apses and
an ambulatory around the central area,
surmounted by a circular gallery.

The architectural monuments of the Pre-Romanesque are predominantly small churches with a diversity of ground-plans, especially numerous variants of the centralised type. Together with the exclusive use of stone and crude building technique, another characteristic is the frequent use, considering the confined space, of vaulting, apses and domes. Stone was employed for all parts of the building: the portals and window frames, the transennas (perforated stone slabs covering the window apertures), the church furnishings, especially altar closure screens with columns, and the architraves with a characteristic triangular gable in the middle enclosing a semi-circular arch, as in the mentioned prothyron tympanum of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split.

In the large aisled buildings such as the cathedral at Biograd, the church at Biskupija near Knin, St Martha's at Bijaći and several others, there was also a stone ciborium on four columns over the main altar. All the stone church furnishings were covered with shallow, linear ornamentation made up of three interlaced bands, and therefore known as "plaitwork". In these often crudely carved and irregularly shaped plaitwork reliefs, one should not overlook the basically strictly-organised geometrical design of the ornamentation (its "hidden structure"), in accordance with the principles of proportion and composition within a given framework, which, like the building technique itself, originated in antiquity.

For almost all the motifs that appear in Pre-Romanesque reliefs, models can be found in the rich repertoire of classical ornamentation, though frequently they appear in different materials and techniques — in floor mosaics, for instance. We find linked circles, rhombs, knots, plaits, volutes and others. At the beginning and end of the plaitwork phase of Pre-Romanesque stone carving, typical motifs of classical architectural decoration also appear, such as bead, astragal or egg patterns. This last was "translated" in the plaitwork into a pattern resembling arcading.

In this general reduction of scale, three-dimensional sculpture vanished for fully six centuries (6th—11th). Even the relief which replaced it became shallower and depressed into the surface, virtually level with the background, from which it stood out less than an inch, the roundness of the relief and modelling of detail being reduced to the carved line. A new artistic system evolved, in which all the means of expression in antiquity seem to have become one degree less complex: sculpture being reduced to relief, relief to a flat surface, a raised surface to a line.

Plaitwork carving is the embodiment of the principle of "respect of the plane" — a world composed of two parallel flat surfaces: background and motif. In the Pre-Romanesque period, all areas of the stone architectural elements (frames of doors and windows, imposts, transennas) and church furnishings (altar screen, altar and ciborium) were covered with geometrical ornamentation — a case of *horror vacui*. Only the occasional small bird or a few flowers in extremely linear stylisation are worked into the pattern, and even then for a rhythmical, ornamental, not a narrative effect, though they undoubtedly have a symbolic significance. The period of absolute domination of geometrical ornamentation in stone reliefs, replacing the human figure and figural compositions in art, lasted fully four centuries, from the 7th to the 10th.

In Pre-Romanesque architecture, the classical differentiation between flat wall surfaces and carved, i.e. sculptural elements (column, base, capital, frieze) was abolished, and the entire wall surface was moulded. The continuous or broken wall surface became a constituent element of the space within and the volume of the building without.

Like the repertoire of ornamental motifs originating in antiquity, Pre-Romanesque architecture, notwithstanding its diversity, has no forms which in embryo or fully realised were unknown in late Roman, Early Christian or early Byzantine architecture in general, and even in the surviving monuments on this territory. Recent archaeological research and the ever greater number of Pre-Romanesque monuments that have been





48.
Church of St Saviour at the source of the Cetina, 9th century. One of the group of Early Croatian churches with a bell-tower in the middle of the façade and massive counterforts supporting the vaulting. These differed from the churches of flatter shape in the Romanised cities, which usually had a separate bell-tower.

48

49.
Figure of a Croatian Dignitary, fragment from Biskupija near Knin, 11th century. This rudimentary attempt at three-dimensional sculpture is quite exceptional in this period, when the flat surface was completely dominant.

scientifically studied — about 150 to date — have by their quantity led to qualitatively new conceptions. Thus, it no longer appears to us — as it did to scholars half a century ago — that there are only “free forms”, that each church is of a different shape. Instead, we now perceive a certain number of Pre-Romanesque architectural types, some of which are frequently repeated: so far we know of seven examples of the circular church with six semi-circular niches radially disposed, known as the hexafoil type (and two octofoil, a variant of this), and thirty or so examples of the tripartite longitudinal church with a square apse, and often with a dome over the central area. Greater frequency of a particular type in one region has also been noticed: of the seven small hexafoil churches, five are around Zadar, while the longitudinal type with a dome predominates in the Dubrovnik area.

More detailed study of the buildings likewise leads to the conclusion that the appearance of moulding of surfaces — the rhythmical alternation of semi-circular niches and projecting rectangular pilasters on the internal walls — is the rule rather than the exception.

Following recent examination of the walls of some churches, the most important among them being the church of St Peter at Priko near Omiš, opinions have been revised. That relief-like treatment of wall surfaces in Pre-Romanesque architecture is more typical than exceptional is borne out not only by small churches (St George at Kaštel Stari; St Michael, Mrkan; St Thomas, Kut; St Michael, Ston; St Peter, Šipan and others) but also by larger ones, such as St Stephen's at Otok or the church at Gradina in Solin, and by the largest — St Donatus in Zadar.

Contrary to the oft quoted view of the “provincial” backwardness of artistic output in these regions in relation to many major European trends, every new discovery confirms that the arts in Croatia by no means lagged behind contemporary European achievements. This is certainly true of the most imposing monument, the church of St Donatus at Zadar, but also of the smallest, such as Holy Cross (Sveti Križ) at Nin. The Early Croatian builders were as conversant with the artistic idiom of the Carolingian West and the building programme of the learned Benedictines as with contemporary innovations in form in the Byzantine East, where churches appeared with an inscribed transept (and with a dome over the junction?) like those of St Lawrence (Sveti Lovro) and St John or Domenica (Sveti Ivan, Nedjeljica) at Zadar, St Martin (Barbara) at Trogir, St Benedict (Euphemia) and St Nicholas (Sveti Mikula) in Split and St Stephen at Otok in Solin. The discovery of a larger number of churches conforming to a particular type has not, however, diminished our appreciation of the astonishing variety of ground-plans and spatial solutions of Early Croatian church architecture.

Pre-Romanesque churches reflect and are the result of a new principle of building. In contrast to the classical principle of articulation, i. e. differentiation of the structural parts (base — shaft — capital — arch), which makes evident the relationship of support and weight, Pre-Romanesque churches seem to be moulded into a single mass. Often the wall merges without a break into the vault, the niche of the apse into the calotte, the tambour into the dome. The exterior volume of the church and the internal space are shaped by curves and breaks in the continuous wall surfaces. Clumsy execution, the roughness and simplicity of the building technique and the poor quality of the material (broken or roughly hewn stone walls, uneven mortar) should not be allowed to blind us to the perfect design.

An outstanding place among the centralised type of Pre-Romanesque building belongs to the Zadar rotunda of St Donatus, not only as the most complex in form but also as the biggest. Whereas the rotunda of St Mary at Iž measures only seven metres in length and six in height, and the diameter of the other centralised churches averages ten metres, the Zadar rotunda is twenty-three metres across and twenty high (without the once existing dome). The present structure is from the 9th century, the Carolingian period. Originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the church later took



its name from Donatus, a 9th-century Zadar bishop. The three-apse construction has a symbolic connection with the original dedication to the Holy Trinity. Within the episcopal complex, this church and the Early Christian cathedral formed a typical "twin" composition, and it is not to be excluded that it had a memorial function.

The central cylindrical area is encircled on the ground floor by an arcaded ambulatory covered with barrel vaulting, and on the upper story by an arcaded gallery, supported by huge piers. Three rounded apses rise the entire height of the building on the eastern side; the arches at the entrance to these apses are borne by two Roman columns.

Numerous Roman fragments were incorporated into the church, which was built directly on the floor of the forum on heaps of Roman masonry (stela, architraves, shafts of columns), so that some experts in the field of statics long ago reached the conclusion that it was bound to collapse. It would seem, however, that precisely these flexible foundations of St Donatus enabled it to withstand all earthquakes and also the heavy bombing in the Second World War which destroyed all the surrounding buildings.

This type of monumental centralised building with an upper-story gallery corresponds to imperial churches such as Justinian's San Vitale (6th century) at Ravenna, and Charlemagne's palatine chapel (9th century) at Aachen, where the ruler had his place and throne in the gallery opposite the apse. Similar to these buildings in shape and importance, the church of St Donatus at Zadar is nevertheless distinctive, and the most monumental Pre-Romanesque rotunda in Europe.

Its influence seems to account for the frequency of circular small six-niche churches in the Zadar area, where the majority are located. Their form can be shown to be a synthesis of the constructional principles of the three-apse part of St Donatus and the hexagonal ground-plan of Zadar's 5th-century Early Christian baptistry of Zadar cathedral — also with six conches in the interior — which was similar in its modest dimensions to these Pre-Romanesque monuments.

A separate group among the Early Croatian churches are those with massive rounded counterforts: Lopuška Glava near Knin and St Saviour (Sveti Spas) at the source of the river Cetina — aisleless with a trefoil sanctuary; and the cathedral at Biograd na Moru and St Cecilia's at Biskupija near Knin, both aisled structures. These churches also had a belfry in the middle of the western façade and a narthex (vestibule) with a gallery — except for Biograd cathedral. Connected with the donations, estates and functions of the Croatian rulers, these churches are of considerable size. From the only one which is partially preserved (to the roof), the church of St Saviour at the source of the Cetina, twenty-one metres in length, we can imagine how impressive must have been the appearance of St Cecilia's at Biskupija near Knin, which was aisled and thirty-three metres long. When it was standing in ruins, the people used to refer to it as the "Pillars" (*Stubovi*), because of the massive piers which originally supported the vaulting.

From the Istrian examples of Pre-Romanesque belfries in the centre of the westwork (Plomin, Bale), the churches of St Vitus (Sveti Vid) near Dobrinje, St Lucy on Krk and several others, and also from examples known from records (Gračišće), it is clear that this type was particularly widespread in the rural hinterland, whereas within the former Roman towns on the coast the bell-tower was usually separate from the church.

The rectangular churches with inscribed apses, usually classified as an Istrian regional type, are also found in Dalmatia: apart from the mentioned coronation church of St Peter at Solin, similar examples are the large abbey church ("Crkvina") at Biskupija near Knin, the smaller churches of St Domenica (Sveta Nedjeljica) and St Lawrence (Sveti Lovro) in Zadar, and the two-aisled church of St Peter "the Elder" in the same city, which we mention in order to round off the catalogue of diverse forms.



50.

Two ciboria from Biskupija, 11th century, reconstructed (S. Gunjača) in the Croatian Archaeological Museum, Split. The square ciborium is remarkable for its wealth of decoration and the pronounced volume of the capitals with animal heads. The hexagonal ciborium in the background has simple plaitwork ornamentation.

51.

Figure of a King, relief in the Small Temple (baptistry) in Split, late 11th century. The altar closure slab (from the coronation church of King Zvonimir at Solin?) portrays the king with a courtier beside his throne and one of his subjects.





52.

The initial Q shaped from tendrils and zoomorphic elements, a page of the Romanesque parchment codex of St Gregory of Nin, 11th century. Library of the Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik.

The Pre-Romanesque undoubtedly marks a new beginning. The Illyrians had just got themselves Romanised and urbanised when the Roman Empire collapsed and the Croats appeared, starting everything anew, as did the other South Slavs and all the European peoples who settled in the former empire: the Langobards in Italy, the Goths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Germans in the north. The works of the early periods are often characterised by the amalgamation of different functions, lack of differentiation as opposed to the division and "specialisation" typical of developed and late periods. Thus, the Early Croatian churches are not only monuments of sacral architecture but the most important historical records of the period, for on the architraves and entablature of altar screens, on portals or ciboria, along with the plaitwork ornamentation are carved the names of Croatian princes, local leaders and distinguished persons.

The earliest datable inscription relating to Croats discovered so far, from the church at Rižinice, mentions the Croatian prince (*knez*) Trpimir (PRO DVCE TREPIMERO). This is from c. 850. The inscription of Prince Branimir from c. 888 contains the first mention of the name "Croat": Crvatorum, while others from the 10th century refer to the princes Držislav and Svetislav. They continue down to King Zvonimir at the end of the 11th century. But the famous inscription mentioning Zvonimir is already in the vernacular and written in the Glagolitic alphabet. This is the stone altar closure slab known as the Baška tablet from the church of St Lucy at Jurandvor near Baška on the island of Krk, which was carved to commemorate a royal endowment ("I, Abbot Držiha, write this of the land which King Zvonimir gave in his reign..."). The inscription — the most extensive from that time — was probably carved c. 1100, but it reminds us that during the Pre-Romanesque period the Croats had not only mastered Latin, the international language of West European educated circles, and adopted the Latin alphabet, but celebrated the liturgy in the vernacular (which the Pope was obliged to recognise officially as early as the 10th century) and wrote legal documents in their own Slavonic alphabet, transforming the uncial Macedonian script into the "angular Croatian Glagolitic."

The earliest Glagolitic epigraphic monument is the Plomin relief (11th century) with a rustic representation of a human figure, beside which the mason carved an inscription: "Written by S..." The bilingualism among the Croats is recorded on the Valun tablet, also one of the earliest, from Cres (11th century), where the same inscription is written in the Croatian and Latin languages and carved side by side in Glagolitic and Carolingian script. Despite periodic persecution, the Croats were to use Glagolitic and the vernacular continuously and to an increasing extent down to the 16th century, especially in the liturgy in Istria, the Kvarner region and Croatian Littoral. In places, Glagolitic is still in use today.

Istria, with its less violent transition from antiquity to the early middle ages, has preserved remains of several churches from the 7th and 8th centuries, of which there is scarcely a trace elsewhere. The aisled church at Guran from this period is in the regional tradition of Early Christian hall churches of the 5th century with their smooth east façades and inscribed square apses — as in the church of Holy Wisdom (Sveta Sofija) at Dvigrad, while columns have given way to piers. Using ashlar and a superior building technique, the Romanised masons in Istria raised a number of variants of the rectangular church with inscribed apses: the majority are without aisles with one inscribed semi-circular apse (Rakotole, Draguč, Roč, Lovran, etc.), but we find some with two inscribed apses (Mala Gospa near Bale), aisled structures with three inscribed apses (St Fosca near Peroj), and churches without aisles with three inscribed apses (St Vincent at Svetvinčenat — high Romanesque of the 13th century).

Besides these traditional elements, a typical early medieval innovation is a bell tower in the middle of the westwork, the lower part serving as an entrance into the aisleless church (St George the Elder, Plomin, and St Elijah, Bale), which here too is undoubtedly in the Frankish tradition.

From a later period we also find in Istria interesting examples of the “flat-tened” bell tower, reduced to a projecting wall in the centre of the west façade surmounted by a bell-cot. This type, later on usually with the bell-cot as an extension of the flat façade — the so-called “distaff belfry”, was to remain a distinctive regional feature of Istrian churches until the Renaissance and baroque.

The art of the period of the independent Croatian state, from the first known princes in the 9th century to the death of the last king of the national dynasty in 1093, i. e. the formation of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom at the start of the 12th century (1102), may be considered, in view of its historical continuity, as a single whole, although within this period, from the mid-11th century, the Pre-Romanesque evolved into the early Romanesque, a qualitatively new phase.

When considering the stone carving, it should be noted, in the first place, that the earliest dated examples of plaitwork from the 9th century are already fully developed and “mature” in their own way. Whereas in Istria we find a number of transitional forms (Pula, Bale, Dvigrad and elsewhere), in Dalmatia there are only a few fragments tentatively dated to the 7th or 8th century, mainly because they show inconsistencies in applying the rules of plaitwork ornamentation. They include the arch with a flattened ovoid pattern in Split and the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ivan of Split, on which the pattern of interwoven lilies is only partly linearised — formerly considered an example of the early phase of plaitwork but perhaps simply left unfinished. Other stone carving previously regarded as showing “transitional forms” of the 7th and 8th centuries (the portal of St Lawrence’s, Zadar) are now thought to be very late examples of plaitwork from the 11th century, when this ornamentation was being replaced by the new artistic idiom of the Romanesque — the human figure and figural composition — and some classical motifs were again adopted.

Several monuments from the latter half of the 11th century in interesting fashion combine the Pre-Romanesque with contemporary early Romanesque trends. Of the church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin, an architectural example of this synthesis, only the foundation walls remain, unfortunately, but the Croatian artistic heritage has contributed several outstanding sculptural works to the European treasury of 11th-century art, recording the highly significant moment when the flat Pre-Romanesque concept of abstract geometrical ornamentation was evolving into the new Romanesque quality with the re-introduction of the human image and figural compositions. The most important are two slabs of the stone altar screen from the demolished church of St Domenica in Zadar and the plaque with the figure of a Croatian king enthroned (now in the Split baptistry but assumed, from its subject matter, to come from Zvonimir’s coronation church at Solin).

The Zadar altar closure slabs with relief scenes of the boyhood of Christ still demonstrate the consistent application of both fundamental principles of the ornamental style: a single means of artistic expression, parallel lines, is used to delineate flatly the human figure, drapery, architecture and ornamentation, and the entire surface is evenly covered, according to the dictates of *horror vacui*. But while “horror of a vacuum” is one of the features of all primitive, “early” phases in the visual arts, on the Zadar reliefs we should regard it also as consistent with the mature composition: an empty area on the plaque’s surface might appear to us as space, thereby weakening the firmness of the whole and destroying the unity of expression.

Subjects from the Gospels are depicted on the two Zadar relief plaques in a compositional scheme familiar to us from antiquity on the so-called arcaded sarcophagus, and frequent also in the early medieval sculpture of Europe, known as the “man under the arcade” motif. It appears, for instance, on the architrave of the portal of St Genis de Fontaine, one of the first examples of early Romanesque monumental sculpture in France.



53.

St Luke Writing His Gospel, *miniature in the Evangelistery (MR 153) brought back from France in 1090 by the first bishop of Zagreb. The Evangelist, shown as a human figure with an ox head, sits on the initial Q, his symmetrically raised wings skilfully composed within the rectangular frame.*

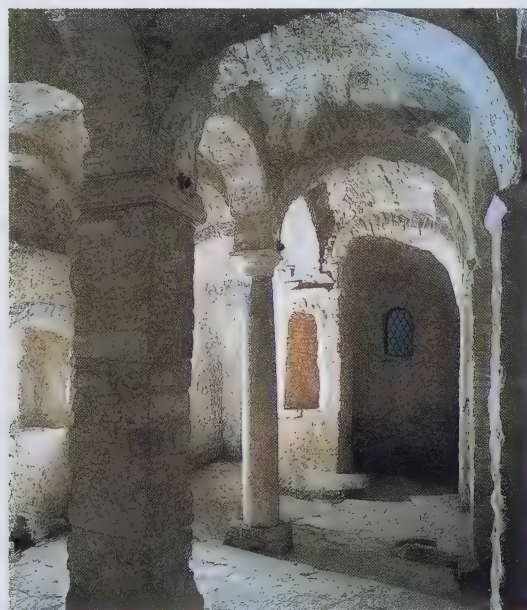
53





54.

Altar closure slab from the church of *St Domenica*, Zadar, with scenes of *The Massacre of the Innocents* and *The Flight into Egypt*, late 11th century. Archaeological Museum, Zadar. A traditional antique type of arcaded sarcophagus reworked with low relief in linear Pre-Romanesque stylisation which reduced the former architectural background to no more than an ornamental frame.



55

55.

Interior of the Pre-Romanesque double-nave church of *St Peter the Elder*, Zadar. The vaulting is supported by ribs springing from the piers and columns. The denuded walls reveal the crude building technique using rubble masonry with a large amount of mortar.

56.

Church of *St Nicholas* near *Nin*, 11th century. Built on a prehistoric tumulus, this early Romanesque structure has a trefoil ground-plan. The central domical vault is supported by crossed ribs, as in the first story of the bell-tower of *St Mary's* in nearby Zadar (1105). The octagonal tower was added in the period of Turkish conquests (16th century).

Unlike the antique reliefs where the arcading suggests actual architecture and depth, on the Zadar altar closure slabs the columns and arches are only a flat band, while the capital is indicated by a single transverse line. The uniformity of the treatment of form is such that, shown a separate detail of a Zadar relief, we should be unable to tell whether it was part of a column, a garment or the hair of a female figure.

Today, when we are no longer concerned only with the first impression of a work of art — in this case with its primitiveness, i. e. naivety of expression — but search for a hidden structure and meaning, when we refrain from imposing our own artistic and aesthetic values on what we are viewing, as was once the case, and try to discover and evaluate the qualities of its own idiom in each work and stylistic period, we are bound to ask ourselves: is not the formal identity of the architecture and garments in the Zadar reliefs the same — *mutatis mutandis* — as that we discovered long ago in the relationship of the folds of drapery in archaic Greek female sculpture and the fluting of Doric columns?

On the stone relief from the Split baptistry, in contrast, the figures, although realised in the same flat, linear manner, by means of parallel lines (folds of cloth, hair, beards), are independent of the smooth background, the empty surface. Together with the higher relief, this gives a more third-dimensional impression. Following the usual early medieval scheme of iconographic perspective (which is applied and reappears in all “primitive” art, in all “naïves” from Mesopotamia and Egyptian reliefs to contemporary peasant art and children’s drawings), the monumentality of this composition is ensured by employing size to denote importance. The rigid hierarchic social scale is directly expressed by the size of the figures: an enormous King is seated on a throne with a smaller Courtier standing beside him, while below them the tiny Subject kneels in submission.

We have mostly spoken of art in the Dalmatian region in this period because of its quantity and in view of the value of surviving monuments in the Roman towns and in the nuclear region of the early medieval Croatian state. The fate of northern Croatia differed considerably. Here some cities of antiquity vanished without a trace, and even today the area of the main city of the Roman province of Pannonia, Siscia (now Sisak), has still not been thoroughly investigated by archaeologists. More detailed study has been made of *Aquae Iasae*, the Roman spa with hot springs, now *Varaždinske Toplice*; the wealth of finds only goes to show how further archaeological excavations could modify our present conception of antiquity, and even of the Pre-Romanesque period, in these regions.

In northern Croatia, the sites of Roman towns were often abandoned, since they had been chosen on the basis of quite different possibilities as regards fortification and a higher level of organisation of defence, while the medieval settlements or burgs were located on naturally strategic sites that were easily defensible. A typical example is the relationship of the abandoned Roman town of *Andautonia* (now the village of *Šćitarjevo*) on the river Sava, and the medieval *Gradac* and *Kaptol* — the future *Zagreb* — on nearby hills below *Mt. Sljeme*. The first historically recorded prince of Pannonia, *Ljudevit*, chose *Sisak* as his stronghold in his struggle with the Franks (*Patriarch Fortunatus* of *Grado* sent him craftsmen in 822), but no early medieval buildings have survived here either. The whole Pre-Romanesque period in the north has left only a few fragments of plaitwork carving (*Lobor*, *Sisak*). *Sisak*’s role as the main town of the region was taken over in the middle ages by *Gradec* and *Kaptol*, later combined in the city of *Zagreb*. But the bishopric of *Zagreb* was established only at the dawn of the Romanesque, in 1090, when Croatian culture on the Adriatic, after three centuries of history, was at the peak of its first phase of development, and the Croatian maritime state at the end of its independence.



ROMANESQUE
*The Renewal
of Towns and
Raising
of Monasteries*
(11th—12th centuries)

Among the many Pre-Romanesque buildings of the 11th century, a stylistically coherent group of early Romanesque monuments can be clearly distinguished by critical criteria. Apart from the mentioned churches that mark the transition to the new style while retaining traditional elements (such as St Peter's at Solin) and the analogous sculpture in which plaitwork ornamentation is now dominated by the figural element (as in the reliefs from St Domenica's, Zadar), the early Romanesque appeared in the second half of the 11th century with the widespread construction of abbeys and churches by the reformed Benedictine order of Monte Cassino, and at the start of the 12th century displayed new structural features, such as vaulting with crossed ribs.

The typical Benedictine basilica with lateral aisles separated from the nave by columns and three semi-circular apses was raised in towns and on the islands from the north to the extreme south of the eastern Adriatic seaboard. We shall mention only those of St Martin at Lovreč in central Istria and St Peter at Supetarska draga on the island of Rab as two of the better preserved churches, and St Benedict (Euphemia) in Split and St Mary in Zadar as two of importance because of later additions. Beside the last, an early Romanesque chapter house of the Benedictine nunnery with barrel vaulting reinforced with strong ribs has been preserved. A bell-tower was built to mark the arrival in Zadar of a new monarch, the Hungarian-Croatian king, Koloman, in 1105 — an event recorded by the inscription carved on a belt course on the tower's first story. The bell-tower of St Mary's is an example of excellent stonemasonry and mature construction: edged with pilaster strips, it has typical two-light openings surmounted by a round arch, arranged in pairs on three stories (originally on five stories) culminating in a four-light opening at the top for the bells. Also excellently constructed is the vaulting on the first story of the tower, with two squared crossed ribs resting at the corners on stereometrically pure cushion capitals. Recalling the phrase "provincial tardiness" often used when describing monuments in Croatia, we should mention that the vaulting in St Mary's bell-tower in Zadar is not only among the oldest of its type in Europe, but is actually the earliest example so far reliably dated. Although here it owes its origin to a royal endowment, vaulting of the same early Romanesque type is also found in very small 12th-century churches, such as those of St Nicholas not far from Nin and St Donatus on the island of Krk (both with trefoil ground-plans), and on a larger scale in the lower church of St Quirinus (Sveti Kvirin) in the town of Krk (an unusual two-aisled crypt since a street now passes through the third aisle), where the crossed ribs spring from strong cushion capitals on massive piers.

While the Pre-Romanesque was a period of many small churches, the Romanesque was the age of imposing cathedrals. In Istria, the older Early Christian and early Byzantine basilicas in Novigrad, Poreč and Pula remained in use, but during the 12th century new cathedrals were built or old churches reconstructed in Senj, Krk, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik and Zagreb (where a bishopric was founded in 1094). Unfortunately, the two most important Romanesque cathedrals in the north and south were destroyed: Zagreb's in 1241 by the Tartars, and Dubrovnik's in the earthquake of 1667 (remains of its walls were discovered during archaeological excavations only in 1980—84). But those that still stand, together with the impressive high Romanesque abbey church of St Grisogonus (Sveti Krševan) in Zadar, more than hold their own in comparison with the average products of European architecture of this period. When discussing the stylistic elements common to all these buildings, we should not overlook their individual features, not only in their actual construction but in the place they occupy in the urban lay-out, as the focal point of picturesque squares and streets.

The Romanesque cathedral of Senj stands apart from the building tradition of the entire eastern Adriatic by being constructed of brick. The original façade, only partly preserved, was articulated with rows of strip



57.
Church of St Quirinus, Krk, 12th century. An early Romanesque basilica with two aisles and three apses, a wooden roof and simple cushion capitals.

58.
Romanesque façade of the cathedral of St Anastasia, Zadar, from the 13th century, when the early Romanesque 12th-century building was extended. Its articulation with rows of blind galleries is modelled on Tuscan churches.





59

59. Reliquary of St James, silver, late 11th century. According to the inscription, it was commissioned by Bosna for the salvation of the soul of her husband, Chaseus. On the cylindrical section, resembling the model of a domed building, frontally-posed figures executed in repoussé technique are set in arcading, while the lid is decorated with busts of saints in medallions.

pilasters linked by blind arcading, a characteristic decorative element of the period.

This is also found on the façade of Rab cathedral (dedicated in 1177), built of square dressed stones in alternating rows of white and pink marble, giving a refined polychrome effect. The apse, polygonal on the outside, still recalls the Byzantine era. Colonnades with simple early Romanesque leafy capitals (similar to those in the churches of St Peter at Supetarska draga and St Andrew in the town of Rab) divide the lateral aisles from the nave. The separate bell-tower of Rab cathedral from c. 1200, aligned with the main portal (from which it may have been separated by an atrium), is highly articulated and one of the finest on the eastern Adriatic. Above the monolithic ground floor, the number of apertures increases with each story — typical of the Romanesque and its sense of tectonic “lightness”. There are single-light openings on each face on the first story, two-light on the second, three-light on the third, and a single four-light opening on each side at the top. The other Romanesque principle, that of addition, is stressed by the horizontal belt courses dividing each story.

Rab has two other 12th-century bell-towers: one beside the ruins of the Romanesque basilica of St John (Sveti Ivan) with an ambulatory, and the other beside the front of the aisled, three-apsidal early Romanesque conventual church of St Andrew (Sveti Andrija). With their shallow corner strip pilasters, simple two-light openings for the bells and low pyramid roofs, these towers are still early Romanesque in conception. The bell-tower of St Andrew’s has a carved plaque inscribed with the name of its builder, Cosma, and date of construction: 1181. Together with the campanile of St Justin’s from the 17th century, these bell-towers give Rab its characteristic and unique silhouette, ranged as they are, together with all the other sacral monuments, on the “acropolis” — the crest of the ridge running the length of the peninsula occupied by the old town.

Zadar’s cathedral of St Anastasia (Sveta Stošija) was originally an Early Christian basilica, of which only the wall mosaic of the cathecumeneum with two deer beside a cantharus and the foundations of the hexagonal baptistry (5th century) have survived. It was this that determined the exceptional width of the apse and nave. A Pre-Romanesque crypt below the apse and sanctuary has been preserved. The ciborium of the proconsul Gregory, from 1032, important for the dating of plaitwork, probably once belonged to the cathedral. Restored in high Romanesque style in the 12th and 13th centuries, Zadar cathedral has the typical Romanesque rhythmic alternation of piers (with half-columns having cushion capitals) and columns with Corinthian capitals in its interior, while the horizontal articulation is stressed by the triforium above the arcades. The reinforced clustered piers emphasise the crossing before the sanctuary (perhaps once domed). The front is embellished with four stories of blind galleries with single and double pilasters and a wheel window (the later rose window is Gothic).

The recessed portals with pilasters and semi-circular tympana provide an interesting illustration in their relief ornamentation of the continuity of antiquity into the high Romanesque: the tendrils with animals and birds are undoubtedly copied from a large Roman architrave built into the cathedral’s southern apse (the motif of a boy stealing birds from a nest). The figures of apostles in high relief are from the 12th-century façade destroyed in 1202 by the Crusaders when they captured Zadar for Venice (to pay for their sea transport!) on their way to the Holy Land. Despite the depth of the mass of the relief, the figures are still flattish, the linear quality and stylisation of folds recalling Byzantine ivories and miniatures — a common feature of early Romanesque sculpture throughout Europe.

The design of the main façade of Zadar cathedral and repertoire of forms, particularly the blind galleries, are similar to the Tuscan Romanesque churches of Lucca and Pistoia. The relief in the tympanum of the main portal, dating from 1324, is already high Gothic: the Virgin is turned

animatedly to the child and hugging him, while the saints on either side, St Anastasia and St Grisogonus (Sveti Krševan), the patron saint of Zadar, face towards them. The Gothic spirit is also conveyed by the trefoil pointed arches, the spirally fluted pilasters and the volume of the figures, detached from the surface and standing on consoles.

The west front of the other large Romanesque church in Zadar, St Grisogonus or Chrysogonos (Krševan), dedicated in 1175, is plain, with only one blind gallery and a frieze of small arcades. The main apse, in contrast, is richly articulated with half-columns and blind arcading in the lower part, and a blind gallery in the upper. The monumental blind arcading with spirally fluted half-columns decorating the south wall was motivated by its prominent position, facing onto the main street. Resembling a street arcade resting against the church, it has the illusionary effect of widening the street. In the interior, regularly placed supports are interrupted by four prominent piers, cruciform in cross-section, which, together with the ribbing of the central square area, suggest the original cruciform shape of the space.

Trogir cathedral, built in the late 12th and early 13th centuries, and completed in 1251, is the most archaic in the construction of its interior arcades: the two aisles are separated from the nave by massive elongated pylons, in fact, a thick wall pierced with arched openings — an early Romanesque method. But Trogir is, at the same time, the most monumental of all the Dalmatian Romanesque cathedrals, being the only one with vaulting over both aisles and the nave (the last, it is true, vaulted only in the 15th century). The balanced closed mass of the church, pierced with small windows, is divided by pilasters on the south façade and half-columns on the apses, and edged with a frieze of blind arcading. The same balance and restraint governs the recessed south portal (1213) with a semi-circular tympanum under rounded arches. In contrast, the main west portal of Master Radovan (1240) in its wealth of figures and artistic quality is the most outstanding work of medieval sculpture in Yugoslavia. More will be said of it later.

An unusual architectural feature of Trogir cathedral is the porch, added in the 14th century in front of the west façade, which was planned to have twin towers. Only one of these, the southern, was built, and that took two centuries to complete. It displays all the artistic styles that succeeded one another in Dalmatia over that period: Romanesque, early and late Gothic, Renaissance and mannerism. As such, the tower is a unique “stratigraphic cross-section” of the evolution of styles, and also a paradigm of the growth and development of an architectural monument through time. Time is here registered in space.

At ground level there is a rounded arch opening in the wall mass, in the Romanesque fashion; the early Gothic first story has two small pointed two-light openings on each face in the lower part, while the upper is plain wall; the late Gothic second story (designed by Matej Gojković after 1420, when the old tower was destroyed by the Venetians) also has pairs of two-light openings, but here the upper part is filled with Gothic tracery; the final, third story (T. Bokanić, 1598–1602), reduced to half the height of those below, again has two-light openings, but terminating in Renaissance round arches. Finally, in the 17th century, on the corners at the base of the pyramid roof, four mannerist statues were added, the work of the Venetian sculptor A. Vittoria (commissioned in 1559 for the chapel), thereby already reflecting the baroque affinity for placing sculpture in space.

Beside the great Romanesque conventual churches, abbeys were naturally built, but few have been preserved, and then only partially. They are worthily represented by the remains of the impressive high Romanesque cloister (13th century) of the abbey of St Peter in the Wood (Sveti Petar u Šumi) near Pazin in Istria. Reconstruction in the 15th century created a bizarre upside-down composition, for the older Romanesque arcade was built onto the upper story and the new one on ground level was given



60.

St John, from the Deisis fresco composition in the apse of the church of St John at Šilovo selo, island of Šipan, 11th century. The iconography, style and Greek letters testify to Byzantine influence in southern Dalmatia.

60



61.
Painted wooden crucifix in the church of St Francis, Zadar, mid-12th century. One of the oldest extant, it displays characteristic Romanesque features: the symmetrical pose, modelling of the body and open eyes (the living, "triumphant" Christ). Inscription in Greek and Latin shows various cultural influences in Dalmatia.

62.
St John, detail of the painted crucifix in the church of St Francis, Zadar. Line is the primary means of expression in Romanesque painting. In this work, the sureness of line and expressive power point to an artist of high calibre of Tuscan origin.

61





63

63.

The wooden doors of Split cathedral were completed by Master Buvina in 1214. The twenty-eight relief scenes of the Life of Christ were inspired by a variety of sources (from Byzantine ivories to West European miniatures), interpreted with considerable freedom. Typical features of the scene of The Last Supper are the alignment of the heads of Christ and the apostles, the disproportionately small figures in the front, and the separation of Judas (holding a purse).

64.

The Annunciation, miniature in the Trogir Evangelistery, copied and illustrated in St John's monastery between 1230 and 1240. In addition to well-proportioned figures with convincing gestures, it displays typical Romanesque stylisation of vegetation and schematic architectural background.

Renaissance forms. Also of interest is the early Romanesque gallery above the south aisle of the church of St Andrew on Rab. Covered with a roof supported by columns with cushion capitals, it faced onto the monastery courtyard and had the function of a cloister gallery. Somewhat later, a gallery was raised above the south aisle of Trogir cathedral, facing onto the main city square.

We have the Romanesque period to thank for the first imposing medieval urban structures on the Mediterranean, including the eastern Adriatic coast, with a new quality of residential architecture. For house building, Romanesque masons used roughly hewn square stones in regular rows, with smooth stone frames around the single- and two-light windows terminating in round arches, and around the doors, surmounted by lunettes. Ridged belt-courses stressed the horizontal division of the façades, which were embellished with consoles, imposts of pure stereometric forms, occasionally with low relief ornamentation. Raised on narrow urban plots, houses were up to three stories high. The ground floor was generally used for storage or craft and retail shops, when not serving as stabling — a section of the urban population at that time also engaged in agriculture. The upper floors were the living quarters, with the kitchen on the top floor under the roof for better ventilation and to allow smoke to escape, since chimneys were not yet constructed.

About fifty such houses or their remains, mostly from the 12th century, have been registered in Split, and the same number in Trogir. Others can be found from Poreč and Pula, through Rab and Zadar to Dubrovnik. Trogir has some impressive façades with large two-light windows on the upper story and a typical door and window structurally joined under one arch on the ground floor. In Split we find façades with richly carved architectural details, while in Zadar some examples remain of more complex Romanesque houses with double portals, courtyard entrances, vaulting and loggias on the top floor. Some windows or fragments indicate that there were some palatial mansions in the towns.

The impressive Romanesque Canon's House in Poreč has been preserved in its entirety. The six large marble two-light windows with slender columns on the upper floor are connected by a belt-course running beneath them. In a small decorative marble niche beside the portal is the date (1270) and a Latin verse inscription with the invitation: "This door will be open to every honest person. . ." The late Romanesque-Gothic town hall in Pula (1290—1296) was an imposing structure with outstanding sculptural ornamentation, like a number of other public buildings — the Rector's Palace (Knežev dvor) in Rab or the house with Romanesque six-light windows on the upper floor which stands beside the clock-tower in Split.

Although, in continuity with the early Romanesque sculpture of the 11th century, there must logically have been a considerable amount produced during the period of intensive Romanesque building activity in the 12th and 13th centuries, so little figural sculpture has come down to us that it is difficult to discuss its development.

Even in such a flourishing urban centre as Dubrovnik all that remains from the Romanesque period is a lunette with the figure of an apostle from Antelami's circle and a damaged sculpture of the Virgin enthroned (13th century, Radovan's circle), a couple of imposts with animal figures and a few other fragments. In Zadar, two reliefs of St Anastasia have survived: one early Romanesque, an expressive work showing the martyr on the rack, and the other a severe, high Romanesque piece (12th century). The previously mentioned figures of apostles flanking the portal of Zadar cathedral stand one on the head of another — illogical, but in keeping with the early Romanesque conception of tectonics and the rule by which sculpture must be subordinated to the architectural framework.

Towards the end of the Romanesque period, around 1300, the Istrian workshop of architectural figural sculpture was prominent. This was formed in connection with the building of Pula's town hall (in fact, the adap-

reclamem gentem et gloriā
plebi eius etc. In annis s. marie.

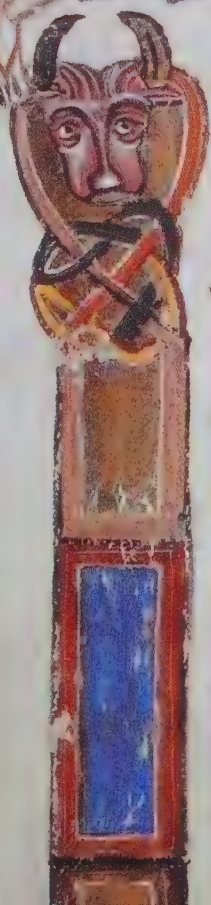


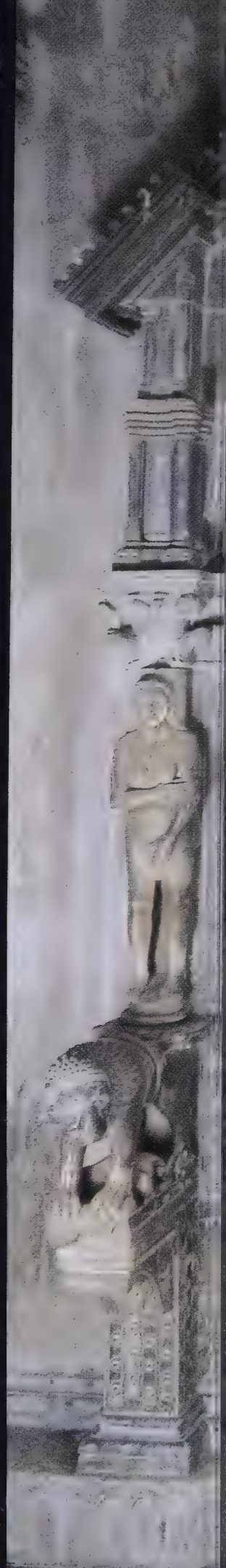
Sēq scī euangēlii s. m. lucam.

III. Misus est angelus

gabriel et ibi in ciuitate ga-
lilee cui nomen nazareth
ad virginem desponsatam ui-
ri cui nomen erat ioseph de do-
mo dauid et cuius generis marie.

In festo scī georgii martiris.









65.

Eve on Radovan's portal in Trogir has been shown by stylistic analysis to be the work of one of the three masters who worked with him or completed the portal after his death. Possibly modelled on some antique sculpture, the Adam and Eve of the Trogir portal have no counterparts in the sculpture of their time except the nudes on a portal in Bamberg.

67

66.

West portal of Trogir cathedral, signed by Master Radovan and dated 1240. The most monumental work of Romanesque sculpture in Yugoslavia, it depicts The Original Sin (Adam and Eve) and The Redemption (The Nativity), the Christological cycle, individual saints and apostles, representations of the months and hunting scenes. Stylistically a synthesis of various traditions, from southern Italian to French, it stands comparison with the finest European sculpture of the period.

67.

Realistic scene on a column of Radovan's portal: below, a hunter has just released the arrow and the hunting dogs have set off to retrieve the game.

tation and extension of the northern Roman temple on the forum). Besides a fork-tailed mermaid and an expressive "squatting figure" on the corners of the town hall, the products of this workshop include the large figures of the Evangelists from the dismembered pulpit from Novigrad, and two figures of saints (Cosmas and Damian) built into the façade of a Renaissance house in Poreč (popularly known as the "two saints" house). These spare and geometricised sculptures already display naturalistic Gothic details (the cut of the clothing, belts, clasps, bags).

However, two monumental works from the first half of the 13th century compensate by their outstanding quality for the lack of quantity. They are the wooden doors of Split cathedral by Master Buvina (1214) and Master Radovan's main portal of Trogir cathedral.

Master Buvina, known from documents to have been a painter as well (unfortunately, his large fresco of St Christopher in the Peristyle has perished), carved the huge double doors of Split cathedral (Diocletian's mausoleum) with relief scenes of Christ's life from the Annunciation to the Ascension, arranged in 28 recessed panels. Extremely well preserved except for the bottom parts, damaged by the feet of passers-by, Buvina's doors are a rarity in the European artistic heritage. Whereas the number of Romanesque bronze doors is relatively large, apart from the celebrated Early Christian doors of the church of St Sabina in Rome (5th century), and the Romanesque ones of St Mary's in Cologne, scarcely any other carved wooden doors pre-dating the 13th century have been preserved.

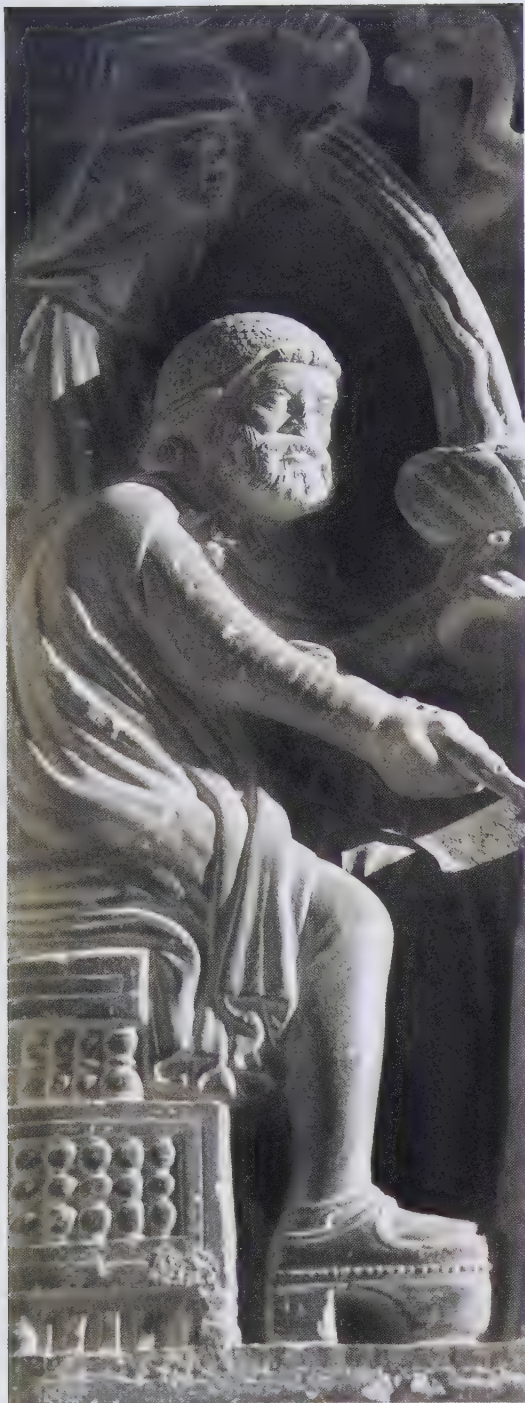
Following the Romanesque principle of composing larger entities by the addition of relatively independent parts, each scene on Buvina's doors has a double frame. The outer one, with vine tendrils twining round people plucking grapes, animals and birds, is the constructional frame of the door, while the narrower inner one with plaited and scroll ornamentation borders the scene. In contrast to the extensive iconographic programme, the individual scenes are reduced to essentials, and the modelling is extremely concise, making them visually clear and easily comprehensible.

The originality of the work derives from the fact that Buvina draws equally on the iconographic sources of the West (The Good Samaritan) and the East (The Harrowing of Hell), using a variety of models from the Byzantine ivory to the Romanesque miniature (The Flagellation). With the freedom of a "peripheral" master, all these are combined, reworked and re-interpreted (The Deposition, The Washing of Feet) or sometimes naively altered, disregarding iconographic rules (the omission of the dove of the Holy Spirit in the baptism scene; the presence of five instead of three apostles in the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, where God the Father appears with Christ's aureole; in the scene of the betrayal, Peter cuts off the ear of a Roman soldier instead of the high priest's servant, etc.).

The scenes of the Last Supper and the Wedding at Cana show the consistency with which Master Buvina followed the methods of his age in composition: the long table repeats the horizontal line of the frame, as do the figures at the table, their heads on the same level, but at the same time the table forms a new rectangle with the lower edge of the frame in which the remaining figures had to be compressed. The effect of this series of horizontal bands (one above the other) is that of vertical perspective instead of perspective in depth. Christ alone occupies the whole height of the panel, in accordance with the hierarchic principle of iconographic perspective.

Split cathedral has also preserved two wooden choir stall backs from the mid-13th century (formerly parts of an altar screen?) ornamented with perforated rhombs and richly carved with vine tendrils and plaitwork, reliefs of saints and apostles, figural scenes and a small "bestiary". Like Buvina's doors, these draw on Byzantine, Lombard and south Italian sources. Besides the realism of the local and oriental animal forms (camel, elephant), a characteristic, already Gothic, feature is the representation of a woodcarver at work — perhaps a self-portrait of the craftsman.





68.

Even on an unsuitable round column, Radovan introduced scenes of woodland life among the intertwined foliage: animals and various aspects of hunting. Detail: a hunter removing the hide of a slain deer, while his dogs take a rest.

69.

The Month of January, detail of a relief on the portal of Trogir cathedral (1240): an old man warming himself by the fire with a series of realistic details: a woollen cap, wooden clogs, a carved Romanesque chair.

The west portal of Trogir cathedral is known as Radovan's portal after the master who carved his name in the Latin inscription dated 1240, although it was not completed until the 14th century. Covered with sculpture and reliefs with some one hundred figures, the portal encompasses the complex iconographic "encyclopaedia" of Gothic cathedrals. A series of reliefs with scenes from Christ's life, from the Annunciation to the Resurrection, occupy the semi-circular tympanum and the concentric arches above it. The Original Sin is personified by the large sculptures of Adam and Eve placed on lions supported by consoles that flank the entrance. The symbolic significance of this programme is the Redemption (Christ's Nativity in the tympanum) of this sin of man's forefathers (Adam and Eve). The scene of the Last Judgement, which according to the rules of Romanesque iconography regularly appears in the tympanum of the main portal as a warning to believers, is thus replaced by Radovan with the promise of Salvation: instead of the terrible punishment of the Father, the tender love of the Mother is represented. This change is not fortuitous, but indicates the new humanist spirit of the Gothic age, in contrast with the severe theological dogma of the Romanesque.

Radovan's portal could be classified as a monument in transitional Romanesque-Gothic style and illustrates in an exceptional manner the difference between the external morphological features of a style and its structure. Its recessed frame, semi-circular tympanum and rounded arches, as well as the typology of the figures, make the portal clearly Romanesque in appearance, but in its essential artistic qualities and meaning, its preoccupation with earthly life and contemporary man, and its consequent realism, this is a work reflecting the humanist Gothic tendencies expressed in the monumental sculptures of 13th-century French cathedrals. For this reason, although the portal is included here at the end of the Romanesque period, it should be stressed that it is linked with this age only ostensibly, and that it is, essentially, the first work of art in Dalmatia of the succeeding European style, the Gothic, to which it chronologically belongs. It should not be forgotten that Radovan was contemporary not only with French Gothic cathedral sculpture, but also with Dante, who dedicated his *Vita Nova* to earthly love (the first "modern" love story), and with the sermons and poetry of St Francis in praise of nature, while the humanised Gothic painting of Giotto would not appear until half a century later!

In the central scene of the tympanum, under which he carved an inscription with the date and his signature, Radovan humanised the standard representation of Christ's Nativity and enriched it with a series of realistic details. In place of the dignified and remote bearing of the Virgin found in a huge number of Byzantine and Romanesque versions, the master suggested a more intimate relationship towards the child by the natural gesture with which the mother — still lying in bed — tenderly uncovers the face of the swaddled infant and displays him to the beholder. In the lower zone of the same scene in the tympanum, Christ is shown as an already grown, plump baby resisting with hands and feet the women who are bathing him, while Joseph, always depicted in the Nativity sitting passively to one side, is here engaged in conversation with a shepherd and is observing the scene attentively. Of the countless realistic details, we shall mention only two: the shepherd removing his cap made of intertwined tendrils, while Joseph, as an elderly man, wears a knitted woollen cap!

The Bringing of Glad Tidings to the Shepherds (on the left side of the tympanum) was developed by Radovan into a lively scene showing a shepherd with a water flask, dogs, a wickerwork basket for making butter, two goats fighting with their horns while the flock lies at rest, a ewe suckling a lamb, etc. The central scene of the tympanum with the mother lying in a bed (instead of on an elliptical couch) is clearly western in original (Chartres), and has a double link with contemporary life. Besides conveying in a lifelike, convincing manner the mother's feelings for her new-born babe, Radovan in fact recorded how that scene was played in religious perform-

ances, making this one of the oldest representations of medieval drama. Apart from the drawn-back curtains at the sides, this is evident from the division of the scene into two levels in the same way the medieval stage was divided, with the main action in the upper zone and the secondary "plot" simultaneously in the lower.

On Radovan's portal, the reliefs representing the months of the year are interpreted in a particularly animated and realistic manner: in December, the slaughtering of a boar for the making of sausages, which, in the following scene (January), are being smoked over the hearth, beside which an old man is warming himself, at the same time boiling some in a pot, while a youth pours wine from an amphora into a cup — a witty introduction of the zodiac sign of Aquarius into the scene. March is personified by the figure of a young soldier (the god Mars), with accurate details of Roman armour and weapons, while in April, beneath the (Dalmatian) pines bending in a strong springtime wind, a young man shears a sheep, his shears forged from one piece of iron — a type still in use today.

Even when carving vines on a round column — a decorative task on an unsuitable surface — Radovan skilfully introduced human and animal figures, combining them in dramatic and realistic hunting scenes in the forest: hunting boar and deer, a man struggling with a bear, stalking, various phases of action with a spear and bow and arrow from an ambush or on horseback, while twigs and leaves convincingly conjure up woods and undergrowth, the natural setting of the events.

While presenting a multitude of realistic details (caps, garments, the horses' trappings, furniture, implements and weapons), Radovan managed to avoid naturalism and retain control over the scene as a whole by the condensed volume of the forms, the relative proportions of the figures, with their individualised movements, and their convincing inter-relationships.

Observing the character and quality of Radovan's reliefs, modern criticism has been able to distinguish the authentic works by Radovan's hand from those of his three assistants and successors. The last of these, working at the beginning of the 14th century, unlike Radovan adopted only the superficial features of the Gothic style, but did not master its essentials. Applying the latest iconographic innovations of the period (for instance, the Y-cross resembling a pruned tree, in line with late Gothic naturalism), he is stylistically "more advanced" than Radovan, but the figures with disproportionately large heads, stiff postures, awkward gestures and schematic folds of clothing, make the reliefs of this much inferior artist appear more



70.

The Annuciation, relief built into the bell-tower of Split cathedral. In this monumental composition skilfully set within an arcade, the Virgin's chair resembles that of the old man in the Trogir portal scene of January, but compared with Radovan's relief this work appears archaic, an impression enhanced by the tiny fold of drapery.



71.
Canon's House in Poreč, 13th century, a fine example of Romanesque residential architecture. The ground floor with small windows served as a storage place and cellar, while the upper floor with marble-framed two-light windows was the living area.

72.
The Nativity, relief built into the bell-tower of Split cathedral, 13th century. A master from Radovan's circle tried his hand at the same scene from Radovan's portal. The composition is clear but stiffer and less lively than Radovan's work.

73.
MAGISTER OTTO: St Domnius between St Anastasius and St Peter, relief built into the bell-tower of Split cathedral, late 13th century. Although his figures are large and in high relief, this sculptor of northern origin failed to master volume and proportions, or to combine the composition into a whole.

archaic and give an impression of flatness, even though the figures are set against flat surfaces, which should suggest volume and depth.

Radovan's work shows him to have been a marked individualist. Only the most advanced French cathedral sculpture and Antelami's circle in Italy had something to teach him, but he undoubtedly reworked all influences independently and, developing in particular the emotional tension and realistic trends of Gothic art, he enriched them with local Dalmatian subjects and details from his contemporary Trogir environment.

His portal is not only the most outstanding work of Romanesque-Gothic sculpture in Croatia and on the territory of Yugoslavia, but also occupies a place of exceptional importance in the entire Adriatic region. The reliefs of the months on the arches of the portal of St Mark's in Venice, for example, though more polished, lack the immediate vividness of expression and powerful modelling which distinguish Radovan's work. Finally, the two three-dimensional free-standing sculptures of life size, the nudes of Adam and Eve, at Trogir — clearly influenced by antiquity — are exceptional for their period: from the 13th century similar works are to be found elsewhere only on the portal of Bamberg cathedral.

The sculpture and stone-carving workshop of Trogir cathedral which was active during the 13th and early 14th centuries, and Radovan's portal itself, must have had a strong impact on their environment. Two reliefs later built into the bell-tower of Split cathedral belong to this period: the noble Annunciation under the arcades (its composition the same as Buvina's) with clearly Byzantine tiny folds of drapery (also found in the same scene on Radovan's portal), and the Nativity, a hard and clumsy replica of the Trogir tympanum composition in elongated form.

The artistic links between Trogir and Split can also be observed in the stone pulpits of the cathedrals of both cities. Similar in type (Roman-Apulian) and conception, and both polygonal in shape, resting on columns of Pisan type terminating in capitals with birds with snake-like heads — these are characteristic works of the transitional Romanesque-Gothic style. The Split pulpit was modelled on that of Trogir in the 1330s by Master Mavar, who carved and signed the free-standing sculptures of Gabriel and Mary in the Annunciation on the ciborium of the main altar of Trogir cathedral.

A third large stone plaque built into the Split bell-tower is a relief of SS Peter, Domnius and Anastasius (probably the frontal of the old altar of the cathedral) in a completely different style. The static, frontal pose of the three unconnected awkward figures gives the impression of greater antiquity, although it is several decades later than Radovan's reliefs. The explanation — apart from inferior skill of execution — lies in the fact that the artist came from a different, north European, cultural circle, as testified by his name on the inscription — Magister Otto.

Romanesque painting in Croatia is represented by all types: from wall painting and pictures on wood to illuminated manuscripts. The remains of the 11th–12th century frescoes in the church of St Michael (Sveti Mihovil) at Ston, transitional Pre-Romanesque-early Romanesque in style, are akin to contemporary frescoes in Spain, France and Italy, being directly derived, like the wave of Benedictine architecture, from the Benedictine centre at the abbey of St Michael on Monte Gargano. Although only fragments of the Ston wall paintings have been preserved, a series of isolated, static, frontally presented figures in richly ornamented garments can be discerned. Besides St Michael, John the Baptist and saints, there are the Evangelists on thrones with intarsia, Adam and Eve, details from the Last Judgement, and the figure of a crowned king as the founder holding a model of the church.

In addition to the general characteristic common to early Romanesque frescoes — flatness, linear folds, circular red patches on the cheeks — the Ston wall paintings, with their fresh colours and sure line, lively movements of the head and gestures, have certain specific features. Similar in







74.
Cathedral of St Anastasia, Zadar, 13th century. The wide apse stands on the remains of an Early Christian basilica.

75.
Virgin and Child, icon, second half of the 13th century, Šibenik, the Bishopric Art Collection.

76.
Church of St Mary, Zadar, 11th century, extended in the early 16th, and completed with a Renaissance façade of trefoil type. The Romanesque bell-tower (1105) influenced by French Benedictine architecture combined with Lombard, has the earliest reliably dated cross-ribbed vaulting in Europe.

77.
Trogir cathedral, built in the early 13th century in Romanesque style (south portal 1213, west portal 1240). Only one of the two planned towers (the southern) was raised. Since its construction lasted several centuries, it illustrates all the styles that succeeded one another in Dalmatia: Romanesque on the ground floor (14th century), early Gothic on the first story (early 15th), late Gothic on the second built by Matej Gojković (1420), Renaissance on the third (T. Bokanić) and the termination (1603), while mannerist statues were added to the top in the 17th century.



style but more subdued in colouring and less linear are the frescoes on the first story of the bell tower of the Zadar Benedictine church from the early 12th century (a row of saints, Christ in Majesty).

The variety of stylistic trends around the Adriatic in this period is represented by three 12th-century Istrian churches: in the ruins of the church of St Michael above the Lim inlet, the frescoes in the western, monumental, extremely flat style of Ottonian art; those at Hum in Byzantine Comnenian style from the circle of the Aquileia workshop; and, finally, the fresco of the Ascension with Christ in a mandorla above the triumphal arch of the church of St Fosca near Peroj, representing a synthesis of Byzantine iconography and western elements of form. The main source of Byzantine influence in the northern Adriatic region was first Ravenna, an exarchy from the 6th century, then Aquileia, a patriarchate from the 11th to 12th century, and finally, in the 13th and 14th centuries, Venice. Thus, eastern artistic influences came in the middle ages from the west!

Fragments of frescoes in the church of St Grisogonus (Sveti Krševan) in Zadar from the 12th and 13th centuries (rows of saints and a scene of Christ's Nativity) illustrate by their monumental simplicity and glowing colours on a dark blue background the superb quality of Byzantine art of the third, Comnenian phase. Interesting examples of popular art derived from the Romanesque are the frescoes at Srima, where the figure of a ploughman, closer to popular naive art than Romanesque stylistic norms, appears beside the Virgin and saints on the triumphal arch. The composition of the Byzantine Deisis (the Virgin and St John beside Christ enthroned) in the village church at Humac on Brač and a number of other remains point to the diffusion of fresco painting in the Romanesque period even to small villages of the hinterland or on the islands.

Painting on wood interprets two subjects typical of the Romanesque period: the icon of the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion. Of the six extant 13th-century icons of the Virgin and Child in Croatia, the oldest and most monumental is the Hvar Virgin on the altar of the Renaissance poet, Petar Hektorović, in Hvar cathedral. Restrained, with the austere and pronounced linearism of the Tuscan circle, it is a typical combination of the Byzantine stylistic tradition and Romanesque flatness and use of colour. The Zadar Virgin is more expressive in colouring, while the three Split icons are ascribed, because of their similarity, to the same artist — known as the Master of Our Lady of the Belfry, since the painting from that church is the most powerful of the three. The Hvar Virgin is of the Hodegitria type (the Child in the Virgin's arms is holding a scroll and giving the sign of benediction), while the others are the type of the Virgin of Tenderness (with the Child resting against the Virgin's cheek). Even older than the Hvar icon are two painted crucifixes from the Franciscan abbey in Zadar and the crucifixes at Bale, Galežana and Gračišće in Istria.

Of the illuminated manuscripts, the oldest in Croatia is the 8th-century Split Evangelistary, written in uncials. Continuity of manuscript books does not appear, however, until the 11th century (the Šibenik Sacramentary and Evangelistary, written in Caroline minuscules, fragments of an Evangelistary from Rab written in Beneventana, and others). These have simple initials with animal heads and scrolls, to be found also in the chartulary of St Mary's convent in Zadar and the huge *Biblia Sacra* in Dubrovnik's Dominican monastery, written in Caroline minuscules, also from the 11th century. A group of manuscripts preserved in Zagreb were brought there by the first bishop, Duh, on the establishment of the bishopric at the end of the 11th century. Several 12th-century manuscripts, such as the Korčula Codex or Origen's *Super Exodus* in Split have simple, expressive and concise scenes drawn with a pen. The Trogir manuscript books from the 13th century (Evangelistary, Lectionary), on the other hand, contain impressive Biblical scenes occupying almost an entire page (The Annunciation and Nativity), as do the Zagreb St Justin's Breviary and *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*.



GOTHIC
*The Age
of the Free Cities,
Nobility
and Preaching
Orders*
(13th & 14th centuries)

Three monuments symbolically mark the arrival of the Gothic style in the regions of Croatia: in Dalmatia, Radovan's portal (1240) at Trogir; in the north, Zagreb cathedral (1275); in Istria, the Franciscan church in Pula (1285).

Radovan's monumental portal, with its pronounced humanisation of Christian iconography, incorporation of new subjects and a huge number of realistic details from everyday life, and mastery of volume, as described in the previous chapter, worthily represents Gothic sculpture on Croatian soil and is contemporaneous with developments in the most advanced centres of European art in the first half of the 13th century. The choir of Zagreb cathedral, the first work of early Gothic architecture in northern Croatia, was begun considerably later, but since the Trogir portal was not, in fact, completed until the end of the same century, they could be said to date from the same period. They are even linked by some historical events: while Radovan was quietly carving away at the cathedral portal behind the stout walls of Trogir, in 1241 the Hungarian-Croatian king, Bela IV, took refuge in the city, fleeing before the Tartars, who reduced to ashes (*"in cinerem versa"*) the first, Romanesque, Zagreb cathedral consecrated not long before (1217).

Bishop Timothy founded a new cathedral in Zagreb in 1276, but in the last quarter of the 13th century only the sanctuary with three polygonal apses and rib vaulting, and the sacristy were constructed. The shape of the ground-plan, similar to that of Troyes cathedral, is attributed to the fact that Bishop Timothy had stayed at the court of Pope Urban II in France. In execution and elevation, however, Zagreb cathedral is closer to German Gothic (Trier, Liebfrauenkirche) with archaic retention of the Romanesque round tower and the early Gothic relationship of closed wall masses and narrow windows with separate circular apertures. With its slow growth over centuries and change of styles, Zagreb cathedral is, in its way, a counterpart of the Trogir bell-tower. Disregarding chronology, we are therefore obliged to describe it here.

During the 14th century, the construction of the main body of Zagreb cathedral was resumed following a changed, late Gothic conception (in relation to the choir), while the vaulting was not to be completed until the 15th century. The western towers were raised to the height of the church walls, but when the time eventually came for their completion, the Turks had already reached nearby Sisak. The builders then turned, at the beginning of the 16th century, to more pressing tasks: within the walls of the bishop's town, Kaptol, around the unfinished cathedral, they raised another defensive wall with six round Renaissance towers. Thus, the change in styles coincided with a shift in priorities: from the imposing Gothic cathedral to Renaissance fortifications.

When the tide of Turkish invasion started to ebb, the building of the cathedral was resumed, but the reduction of the former plans and the modest work accomplished testify to the difficult economic and political circumstances in the 17th century: instead of two, only one relatively small tower, the southern, with late Renaissance forms was constructed. The main portal was a curious example of "historicism" in the 17th century, being a copy of the Romanesque portal of a church in Ják in Hungary. The increased security and prosperity in the 18th century are reflected in the transformation of the southern defensive wall around the cathedral, in the decorated façade of the immense new bishop's palace, flanked by two round towers adapted for residential purposes, and in the lavish decoration of the interior of the cathedral with some sixty altars. The Zagreb cathedral complex, like the Trogir bell-tower, thus provided a graphic record of the changing styles, and stands as a monument to the whole history of northern Croatia, since the rhythm and intensity, progress and stoppages, in its construction directly mirrored historical vicissitudes.

With its huge baroque roof, Zagreb cathedral became, finally, the focal point of the city's entire urban lay-out, forming the summit of a steplike



78.
Virgin and Child, polychrome sculpture,
terracotta, early 14th century, Šibenik,
Benedictine Convent.





80

79. St Quirinus between St Dominic and St Francis of Assisi (with one of the Fathers of the Church above them), fresco in the sacristy of Zagreb cathedral, third quarter of the 13th century. The refined, attenuated, early Gothic forms point to a painter from the Roman circle.

80. Franciscan church, Pula, late 13th century: a simple hall with a tripartite triumphal arch separating the square nave from the sanctuary and two chapels. Early Gothic forms were introduced into the architecture of these regions by the churches of the preaching orders in the late 13th century. The pulpit is set in the middle of a side wall and opens onto a balcony serving as a pulpit for the overflow congregation outside.

81. Zagreb cathedral, the largest Gothic building in northern Croatia. The apses are early Gothic (1275); the nave and aisles were built during the 14th and 15th centuries in high Gothic style. Notable among the later church furnishings is the baroque pulpit by M. Cussa.

pyramid above the tiers of house roofs in the Vlaška Vas suburb and the long horizontal roof of the bishop's palace. Restored at the end of the 19th century in neo-Gothic style with two tall (105 m) spires and a roof of glazed tiles, the cathedral was transformed within and without into a monument to the sudden prosperity of the middle class, but the complex lost the harmonious unity which had gradually evolved by the integration of early and late Gothic forms with those of the Renaissance and baroque.

The Franciscan church in Pula is the most outstanding example of the wave of early Gothic architecture spread by the mendicant orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, from Istria to the far south of Dalmatia, in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Originating in central Italy, these churches covered by a wooden roof are relatively conservative in their spatial and constructional conception of the early Gothic, having no aisles and only square apses with rib vaulting. Their type and extreme simplicity were determined by the new purpose and ideological programme of the preaching orders. The most impressive monument preserved in its original state in Croatia is the Franciscan church in Pula: a vast rectangular hall (12.5 × 34.5 m) with an open roof construction and plain walls, brightly lit by high windows.

A distinctive feature of this type of church built by the preaching orders is the placing of the pulpit. From Early Christian times it had always been beside the sanctuary so that the congregation was turned towards the altar. Here, it is in the centre of the south wall, supported on consoles like a balcony. Above the heads of the faithful but in their midst, the pulpit of the Franciscan church in Pula allowed all to hear equally well. Since the congregation was turned, during the sermon, towards the pulpit, the focal point of the church, in the functional sense, was shifted from the altar to the middle of the side wall of the nave. The "hall-type" character of these churches was thus attained more by this functional aspect than by means of the actual longitudinal ground-plan. The sole departure from the Franciscan rule of poverty and simplicity is the main west portal, with its rich Romanesque articulation and shell and vine ornamentation, the latter, like that of the Zadar portal or Buvina's doors, inspired by monuments of antiquity — in this case, the arch of the Sergii in Pula.

The Franciscan churches in Kopër (1265) and Piran, with a tripartite sanctuary, and the one in Poreč, with a single square apse, belonged to the same type. This simple one-apse Poreč type was used for some 14th-century parish churches in Istria.

The early Gothic hall church without aisles of the preaching orders is extremely widespread, as the early Romanesque Benedictine churches had been in their time. In Zadar, the Franciscan church (with a tripartite apsidal construction) and the Dominican (with a single apse) were built in the same year (1280). Split, too, had two churches of the preaching orders. A typical urban example is Dubrovnik, with a Franciscan church near the western gate and a Dominican by the eastern. In contrast to the isolation of the ascetic monastic orders in the early middle ages, whose abbeys were usually far from towns, the preaching orders endeavoured to site their churches and monasteries beside city gates, where the greatest number of people would pass by, with the aim of influencing the "masses", as we would say today. At the same time, they were also entrusted with the function of keeping watch on the entrances to the city.

The Dubrovnik Dominican church, begun in 1301, already has the developed type of polygonal, five-sided apse (derived from an octogon, the so-called 5/8 type), as does the church of St Jerome of the Augustine abbey in Rijeka (1315). We explained this type of apse in Zagreb as being of French or Central European origin (the latter also applies to the Rijeka example), but in fact the same is found in the mother-church of the Franciscan order in Assisi, where it originated under the influence of Angers in France.

Of the developed building activity and wealth of Gothic monuments that existed already in the 13th century in northern Croatia, as written





82.

An Evangelist, detail of a fresco in the chapel of St Stephen, Archbishop's Palace, Zagreb, 14th century. In this post-Giottoesque work of the Rimini school, the accurate depiction of the table, book-shelves and writing implements reflects the growing interest in realism in the Gothic age.

83.

The Benedictine Virgin, painted c. 1300 for the convent of St Mary in Zadar. Permanent Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art, Zadar. Beside the Virgin kneels the tiny donor in contemporary dress.

84.

Cloister of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, built by Mihoje Brajkov of Bar c. 1330 in transitional Romanesque-Gothic style. The arches of the six-light openings are still round, but the octagonal columns are slender and elongated in the Gothic manner.

sources and illustrations (engravings, drawings . . .) testify, all that survived the devastations of the wars with the Turks (15th to 17th century) were a few fortuitously preserved monuments and some minor ruins. An insight into the architecture of this period may be gained from three monuments representing the buildings raised by the major landowners and wielders of power — the feudal nobility, bishops and monasteries. These are the remains of the Romanesque-Gothic polygonal chapel of Duke Koloman at Medvedgrad (1242–6), formerly with rib vaulting and a large rose window; the episcopal chapel of St Stephen in Zagreb (now in the archbishop's palace), raised in the mid-13th century, with rib vaulting, Romanesque-Gothic capitals and later frescoes (Rimini school, 14th century); and the impressive remains of the façade of the large Cistercian abbey at Topusko (c. 1300).

Following the first wave of early Gothic in the 13th century, several important buildings of a transitional character were raised in Dalmatia in the first half of the 14th. These include the bell-tower of Split cathedral and the cloister of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, in which Romanesque tradition and contemporary Gothic trends are combined in a distinctive manner.

The late Roman mausoleum of Diocletian was at first used for its new religious purpose with only minor adaptations: Buvina's wooden carved doors replaced the old ones in the early 13th century, an altar with a relief by "Magister Otto" was installed, and an octagonal pulpit supported by columns was built at the end of the same century. But in keeping with church practice, and also because of the symbolic significance of the vertical lines of the tower in medieval cities, in the first half of the 14th century a bell-tower was added to the cathedral. Raised above the Roman flight of steps leading from the Peristyle to the ambulatory around the mausoleum, the Split campanile represents an original architectural solution, while at the same time echoing the tradition of Pre-Romanesque churches of the Dalmatian hinterland with a tower on the main façade which also served as the entrance to the church.

Skilfully fitted between the mausoleum and Peristyle, the Split tower also provides the very important vertical axis above the horizontal mass of the Roman palace — the city of Split. In its architectural features (the semi-circular arches of the two-light openings, types of capitals, blind arcading) and in the horizontal division into stories, it is Romanesque in style, but the pronounced relief, projecting corner columns and the narrowing line of the upper stories display the Gothic feeling for volume and characteristic contrast of light and shade.

The cloister beside the Franciscan church in Dubrovnik was built by Mihoje Brajkov, as testified by his modest tomb inscription (†1335) carved on a corner pilaster: "*†S(epulcrum) de. Magister. Micha. Petrar(ius). Dantivar. qui. fecit. claustrum.*" The covered walk around the square cloister has a series of hexafora (six-light openings) with paired columns, opening onto the central garden with a fountain. Although the arches linking the columns are rounded and not pointed, the Minorite cloister answers the requirements of Gothic forms with its slender columns (their octagonal shape multiplying the vertical lines and giving a greater play of light and shade than rounded ones), the elongated narrow openings between them, and the piercing of the wall above each hexafor with a circular aperture with quatrefoil tracery, thereby giving more light in the ambulatory. A similar relationship of Romanesque and Gothic styles can be seen in the capitals (except for those replaced in the 17th century). The actual type of figural capital is in the Romanesque tradition, but alongside the fantastic bestiary of winged dragons and chymera, there are figures of creatures carved with Gothic realism and firmly modelled: the heads of oxen and rams, four small dogs, an eagle with two eaglets, and a hawk attacking a hare, as well as the heads of women with kerchiefs and men wearing caps with tassels.













85.
 PAOLO VENEZIANO: The Crucifixion, The Virgin Mary and St John (on separate panels), painted for the Dominican church in Dubrovnik in the sixth decade of the 14th century. This work by the most important artist of the period is distinguished by the noble, attenuated figures, melodious line and refined colouring characteristic of this artist.

86.
 PAOLO VENEZIANO: The Evangelist Matthew, in a medallion beside the arm of the cross in The Crucifixion, Dominican church, Dubrovnik. The elongated figures, summary modelling of the head and decorative graphic treatment of the wings illustrate in their detail the refinement of Paolo's painting.

Until recently the art of the 14th century was relatively neglected in scholarly research and in surveys of European art history, although the trends and works of art of this period, directed towards man and nature and accumulating experience by close observation of contemporary life, were an essential precondition for the appearance of the Renaissance. Moreover, the 14th century was the high noon of chivalry throughout Europe, and in Croatia, as elsewhere, was characterised by the ascendancy of the aristocracy. At the same time, it was the "golden age" of the medieval communes of the Dalmatian towns, and the culmination of their struggle for economic and political independence (similar to the Istrian towns in the 13th century). In this their interests often coincided with those of the Croatian feudal nobility, for the coastal towns, besides maritime trade, also needed trade with the hinterland, where at that time the Croatian nobles were virtually independent of the royal government: the princes of Bribir in Dalmatia, the Frankopans of Krk in the Kvarner region and the Croatian Littoral. In its centuries-old struggle against Venice, its main trading rival in the Adriatic, Zadar, for instance, managed to free itself from dependency in the mid-14th century, and under the formal sovereignty of the Hungarian king, Ludovik I, enjoyed, together with the other Dalmatian towns, its period of greatest prosperity.

The most outstanding work representing the culture of the 14th century in Dalmatia, the growing preoccupation with contemporary life and the increasingly secular character of religious art, is not a carved portal or free-standing sculpture but a work of the goldsmith's art. This is the large sarcophagus of beaten gilded silver made for the relics of St Simeon in Zadar (1377–1380), covered with relief scenes and with a relief of the saint on the lid. The only Biblical subject is the Presentation in the Temple, where St Simeon is a protagonist, the composition being modelled on a



Giotto fresco at Padua. All the other reliefs deal with contemporary historical subjects or are updated versions of legends of saints set in the actual Zadar environment. In manner of presentation, the St Simeon sarcophagus is a typical example of the “narrative” style of art adopted throughout Europe in the 14th century, even crossing the boundary between such ostensibly different styles as western Gothic and the contemporary Byzantine Palaeologue Revival.

The scene of the discovery of the saint’s body includes a Romanesque cloister beside a church, a contemporary ship in a storm is faithfully depicted, and in all the scenes the figures are clad in garments of the period, with various caps typical of the time. One scene shows the entry into Zadar of the Hungarian-Croatian king, Ludovik (Louis d’Anjou), in 1355, illustrating an event which had occurred only twenty years or so before the making of the coffin. There are also several scenes portraying his wife, Queen Elizabeth, who commissioned and paid for this large reliquary, the death of her father, the ruler of Bosnia, Stjepan II Kotromanić († 1350), her three daughters and her son, the future king of Bosnia, Tvrtko I, as a boy. Apart from the descriptive visual presentation, the Gothic narrative tendency is shown in the “long-winded” inscription covering the whole of one panel. Finally, the master depicted himself at work in one scene and, in keeping with the artist’s growing sense of individual identity in that period, prominently inscribed his own name: Franciscus de Mediolano (Francis of Milan). Besides the wealth of realistic detail, some scenes are distinguished by exceptional artistic interpretation, such as the stylised spiral waves in the scene of the rescue of a drowning man.

To gain a more complete picture of the 14th century along the eastern Adriatic, we must turn our attention not only to the traditional branches of art — architecture, sculpture and painting — but also to urban planning,

87.
Scene of the Legend of the Miraculous Finger (or Vow on the Saint’s Body) on the coffin-reliquary of St Simon. Late Gothic interest in realistic detail is shown in the clothing, hairstyles, caps . . . The goldsmith Francis of Milan signed the reliquary and included a portrait of himself at work.

88.
Reliquary of St Simon, beaten silver, Zadar (1380). The largest example of the gold or silversmith’s craft in Dalmatia, it was commissioned by Elisabeth, wife of the Hungarian-Croatian king, Ludovik II, and daughter of the Bosnian ruler, Ban Kotromanić. In addition to legends it illustrates contemporary subjects: Ludovik’s entry into Zadar in 1368.



since this marks a new phase in the development of cities and their spatial organisation. In this period, existing towns, such as Rab or Trogir, were built up or expanded, Dubrovnik (the Prijeko quarter) was regulated within walls, which then attained their present extent, the western suburbs of Split were integrated, and some new planned settlements were founded.

The high level of civic awareness and organised urban government is best illustrated by the city statutes adopted or revised at that time. As early as the end of the 13th century, Dubrovnik's statute (1276, 1296) prescribed strict urban building and health regulations (concerning the width of building plots and streets, the relationship of public and private land, steps and balconies . . .), clearly subordinating private interests to the public good, in the spirit of the motto carved much later over the door to the Grand Council Hall in the Rector's Palace: OBLITI PRIVATORVM PVBLICA CVRATE. In this period streets were paved with brick and stone, the cost being shared by the municipality and householders, a sewage and drainage system was built, and as early as 1415 a street cleaning service was organised.

Having acquired extensive areas of agricultural land outside the city, stretching from Župa to the Pelješac channel, in 1335 the Republic of Dubrovnik drew up a project for fortifications to protect Pelješac, the largest peninsula in the Adriatic. In typical superior Dubrovnik fashion, it had recently purchased Pelješac at the same time from both claimants to this territory: the ruler of Bosnia and Emperor Dušan of Serbia. The 14th century thus saw the start of the most ambitious urban undertaking of the Gothic period on the territory of Croatia.

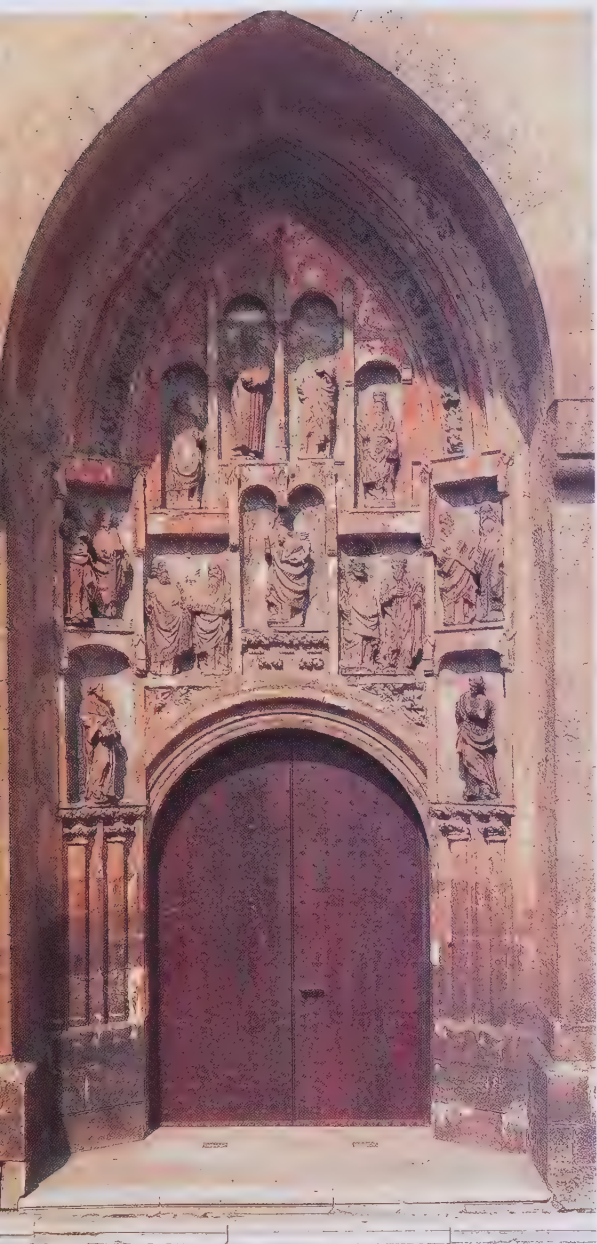
Two planned fortified settlements, Veliki (Great) and Mali (Small) Ston, were raised on a cleverly chosen site — the narrowest point of the isthmus of the Pelješac peninsula — connected by defensive walls with towers and a mighty fortress on the top of a rocky hill, poetically named Pozvzd (under the stars). Beside Veliki Ston, salt pans of exceptional economic importance were constructed. The buildings that have been preserved mostly date from the 15th and 16th centuries, since the original 14th-century houses, for reasons of economy and speed of construction, were mostly of wood. Veliki Ston, somewhat austere and monotonous, still retains the character of a planned "colonising" town. The uniformity evident here and in the previously mentioned expansions and rebuilding of coastal cities is typical of the planned construction or regulation of small towns, and even of villages, in the Dubrovnik Republic.

A series of civic buildings were raised to meet the needs of the municipalities along the coast and at the same time to reflect their power. Among these was the imposing Rector's Palace (Knežev dvor) in Dubrovnik, which acquired its present dimensions in the 14th century. Destroyed by a gunpowder explosion in the 15th, all that has survived of this Gothic building, apart from the basic lay-out — an arcade between two tower-like sections — is some walls and vaulting, and figural consoles on the upper story (a contemporary scene with a clerk).

In addition to the modest and fragmentary remains of older Romanesque fortifications (Novigrad, Motovun, Osor, Rab, Zadar, Split), we have a considerable amount of Gothic from the 14th century. Typical tall towers in the form of a square prism — which distinguish the fortifications of this century from the round towers of the earlier Romanesque and later Renaissance periods — strengthened the first ring of city walls on the northern and western sides of Dubrovnik. In Istria, the best preserved walls and towers are at Piran, on the Slovenian Littoral, with characteristic north Italian crenellation. But many small inland places in Istria, such as Hum, Bale, Motovun and others, still have a vertical accent given by the simple prismatic mass of their Gothic tower, whose dual function of defence and bell-tower reflected the modest economic conditions.

Turning to events in northern Croatia in the 14th century, we can observe in the example of Zagreb cathedral that art developed more rapidly than building construction progressed, so that chronological stylistic





changes are recorded in structural forms. The early Gothic tripartite basilican plan of the 13th century, with the central nave considerably higher than the side aisles, was altered in the course of construction in the 14th and 15th centuries, in keeping with the late Gothic tendency towards spatial unity, to make the aisles almost the same height as the nave, thus leaving no space for clerestory windows and "basilican" lighting. Sculpture from this period is preserved only on the figural consoles of the north windows (a dragon, dog, masquer, old man) carved in the "soft" style of Central European Gothic deriving from Parler's Prague and Austrian circle.

The composition and figures of the main portal of the parish church of St Mark at nearby Gradec are in the same style. This early 15th-century portal, on the south front facing the central square of Gradec, with the figures of Christ, the Virgin and St Mark, and of the twelve apostles in niches, is the finest and most impressive work of Gothic sculpture in northern Croatia. Although not completely preserved — damaged figures were replaced by wooden baroque statues — its artistic integrity has not been destroyed, for despite the change in style, and even material, the baroque liveliness and play of light and shade harmonise with the similar, but more restrained, features of the Gothic sculptures.

Kaptol, seat of the bishop, and Gradec, centre of commerce and crafts, were two small medieval towns on neighbouring hills below Mt Medvednica, which were united in the city of Zagreb only in the mid-19th century. Fortified by separate walls and towers, they have maintained their medieval lay-out, as aerial photographs clearly show. The aisled parish church of St Mark was built in the spirit of the late Gothic ideal of unified space, hence the squarer ground-plan and nave and side aisles of almost the same height and width, like a hall church. The architectural supports, following the same unifying principle, underwent a change: the former Gothic clustered piers are here reduced to simple cylindrical columns, the capitals are abolished, and the ribs, purely functional in form, spring directly from the shaft of the column to the vault.

The mentioned spatial conception and trend were prevalent in Central European architecture of the late Gothic, and in Yugoslavia are exemplified most impressively in hall churches in Slovenia (Kranj, Crngrob). Despite all the formal differences, this ideal of spatial unity was also realised in the previously mentioned aisleless churches of the preaching orders — simple halls with wooden ceilings. The common ideological basis for this change — in comparison with the Romanesque — was the transfer of emphasis from the sanctuary to the area for the congregation, in line with the general trend towards humanisation of religion, i. e. its secularisation. Lit by large windows, the Gothic hall churches did not differ essentially from the large halls of feudal castles and palaces of the period.

As in Istria and Dalmatia, in northern Croatia and Slavonia the spread of the new Gothic architectural forms owed much to the monastic orders: the Cistercians (St Anne's at Bastaj), Franciscans (Zagreb, Kloštar Ivanić, Ilok, Voćin), Benedictines (Bijela abbey, 14th century, with a bell tower on the façade) and Paulines (a large church at Lepoglava, built in c. 1400, with a polygonal sanctuary and stellar vault by the workshop of the Parler circle; the Gothic-style vaulting in the nave was added only in the 17th century). Typical churches of the northern regions are aisleless with a wooden ceiling and a polygonal rib-vaulted sanctuary — Gothic vaulting over the nave is exceptional and mostly from a later period (Remetinec, St George's at Belec, Vukovoj, 1508). The unusual netlike vaulting with "pleated" ribs of the Vladimir Czech Gothic type appears in the sanctuary and nave of the ruined church at Voćin. In northern Croatia and Slavonia, there was much building in brick, particularly in the late Gothic period, but again only a few remains have come down to us (Lipovac, Toranj near Pakrac or the church of St Demetrius with a defensive tower over the sanctuary).

The formerly numerous fortified complexes are recalled by those at Djakovo and Ilok, and the remains of the largest — Ružica castle near

89.
Two Saints, wing of a Gothic altar, 14th century. Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb.

90.
Virgin and Child Enthroned, 14th century. In this work from the Venetian circle (Quariento d'Arpo), the tiny donor is shown beside the wide trecento throne, while Christ is naively presented as though hovering in the air.

91.
Portal of St Mark's church, Zagreb, second half of the 14th century. This impressive work of sculpture is in the "soft" style typical of Central European late Gothic. Three of the original stone figures were replaced by wooden ones in the baroque age.

Orahovica in Slavonia. The ruins of Ružica today resemble the rocky peak of a green hill, with its huge vaulted ground-floor chambers, large chapel on the upper story (bigger than most parish churches in the area) and walls nine metres thick in places.

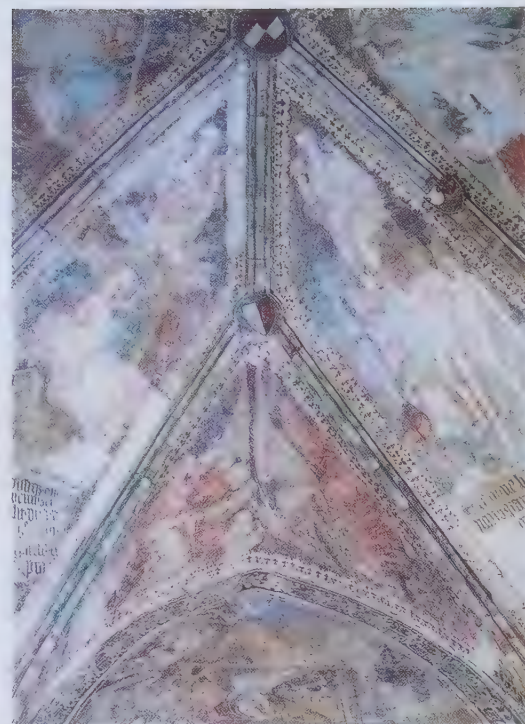
Gorski Kotar, a forested region between Karlovac and Rijeka poor in major architectural monuments, has a notable aisled Gothic church, St Mary's at Oštarije, a foundation of the Frankopan family (1450), who also endowed the 15th-century chapel with elaborate stellar vaulting in Krk cathedral. Gothic churches are more numerous in the Hrvatsko Zagorje region: at Zajezda, Očura, Martinščina, Lobar and elsewhere.

In contrast to architecture and sculpture, few examples of Gothic painting of the 14th century are to be found in Croatia. The finest work, following the art of Giotto, the great reformer and founder of monumental Gothic painting of the *trecento*, is preserved, ironically, in the most out-of-the-way place: in the little cemetery church of St Nicholas in the hamlet of Rakotole in central Istria. The walls of this modest church are covered with large frescoes depicting scenes from the life of St Nicholas in typical Giottoesque style, with figures swathed in robes falling in broad smooth folds, set against a compressed architectural background, but with details clearly taken from contemporary life. One such is the bed with a baldachin in the scene of the saint's birth.

The late 14th-century frescoes in the church of St Anthony at Žminj, with their decorative elements and colours — bright hues against a dark blue background — already adumbrate the Venetian influence which was to become such a prominent feature of painting in the next century. The second, more developed source of Italian *trecento* wall painting, the Rimini school, is represented by the 14th-century frescoes in St Stephen's chapel beside Zagreb cathedral. These are smaller than those at Rakotole but display even more realism in style and subject matter. In the desks and writing implements of the Evangelists, for instance, we recognise the setting of the clerk or notary, so often mentioned in documents and shown in the miniatures of secular codices. Some manuscripts, excellently illuminated with scenes from the clerk's life and work, intended for law students in Bologna, are in the possession of the Zagreb Metropolitan Library (*Decretals of Gregory IX, Decretum Gratiani and Rolandi Notariatus*).

Two trends can be observed in painting on wood during the 14th century: one continues to lay emphasis on strict linearity and monumentality of volume, while the other tends to richer use of colour and the elegance of form equally typical of the international Gothic and the Venetian-Byzantine styles. The prototype of the former is the large painting of the Virgin with Child Enthroned in the Benedictine monastery in Zadar from the very beginning of the 14th century. Besides its voluminosity and the sure line of the large contours, we can observe here a small but significant Gothic innovation: the figure of the donor in contemporary dress kneeling by the Virgin's throne. In European icons of the 14th century, the donor appears reverently and modestly beside the Virgin's hem. Although usually so small as to reach no higher than her knee, these are, in fact, the first representations of secular human figures in religious painting. The human figure was thereafter to grow rapidly in size — relative to the whole composition — until the image of man, freed from supernatural protection, gained triumphant independence in the Renaissance portrait of the 15th century. The artistic quality of the Zadar icon is such that it could not be "ascribed" to any known artist. A marked individuality characterises the work of its painter, known simply as the Master of the Zadar Virgin. Some paintings in Venice (St Mark's Museum) and Moscow (Pushkin Museum) are also attributed to this artist.

The same tightly constructed type of Gothic painting is represented in a work which has no place in the history of Croatian art, having been brought to Istria in the 19th century, but which is consequently a part of Croatia's art treasures: the altar painting (originally the side of a wooden



92

92.

Stellar vaulting in the apse of the church of St Nicholas, Pazin, built in 1441 and painted with frescoes in c. 1460. The work of a south Tyrolean artist (Brixen), the frescoes include scenes of The Creation (God the Father in contemporary dress) and The Works of the Angels.

93.

BLAŽ JURJEV TROGIRANIN: wooden polyptych painted for All Saints' church, Korčula (c. 1439). With its melodious line, decoratively stylised drapery, refined elongated proportions, lively colours and rich gilding, this is an excellent example of the international Gothic court style.







94.
Painted crucifix in the church of St Claire,
Split, 14th century. Its pronounced linearism
and flatness are still Romanesque, while the
emphasis on Christ's human nature and
suffering is already Gothic.

94

95.
BLAŽ JURJEV TROGIRANIN: Our Lady in the Rose
Garden, icon in the sacristy of Trogir
cathedral (c. 1433). Typical of the
international Gothic style in its refined
colours, idealised faces, attenuated fingers
and the emotional relationship of mother
and child, this work shows Blaž's
characteristic manner of painting eyes.





96

96.
Glagolitic Missal of Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, copied and illuminated in Split c. 1404. The style of the miniatures is akin to that of the Master of the Tkon Crucifixion. A full page is occupied by Hrvoje, Duke of Split, shown as a knight in armour. The codex is now in Istanbul.

97.
Bonino of Milan: Orlando (1418), sculpture in Dubrovnik. The face and hair are stiff, while the knightly armour, shield and sword are executed with naturalistic detail. Such statues, symbols of chivalry, were common in northern European cities.

sarcophagus) at Vodnjan, with scenes from the life of the Blessed Bembo and his figure, also with the donor. Later used as an altarpiece, it is ascribed to a "precursor of Paolo Veneziano" or to an early phase of Paolo's work. The voluminous monumentality of the figures in the Giotto tradition and simple realism of details mark the moment prior to Veneziano's melodious singing line.

A series of paintings on wood of exceptional quality are attributed, more or less reliably, to Paolo Veneziano, the greatest painter of the Adriatic region in the 14th century. Combining Byzantine iconography with Gothic idealisation and feeling, subtle polychrome, attenuated figures and lively contours, Paolo created his own style and represents the mature and refined art of the late middle ages. His works in Croatia include polyptychs on Krk and Rab, paintings in Zadar and Trogir, and his masterpiece in Dubrovnik, the largest of all his known works: the huge Crucifixion, with the figures of the Virgin and St John on separate panels.

Inspired by religious fervour following the terrible Black Death (1348), this painting on a grand scale at the same time symbolised the civic pride of Dubrovnik, which had just then finally freed itself of Venetian domination. The donation of the Rastić and Lukarević families, it also reflected the growing economic might of the city's patricians and citizenry, and the increased self-awareness of private patrons. The Crucifixion still hangs inside the triumphal arch of the apse of the Dominican church in Dubrovnik, for which it was painted, and where it was placed, after the plague, in the sixth decade of the 14th century. The gold-embroidered antependia (altar frontals) at Zadar and Dobrinj on Krk also belong to Paolo's artistic circle and the Italian *trecento*.

Though a large number of paintings in Istria, on the Croatian Littoral and in Dalmatia may be considered imports from Venetian workshops or the work of itinerant artists who came from the east, spreading Byzantine forms, some pictures may with reason be ascribed to local artists, a considerable number of whom are mentioned in 14th-century documents. A regional and local character distinguishes the group of paintings which have a red instead of the costly gold background common to both Byzantine and western paintings of the period. This is an interesting example of a modest solution in executing important tasks of the period. The "warmth" of the red background certainly has an emotional connotation — important in the Gothic age — and would have been hardly conceivable in another period. But this use of red also derived from the artists' experience in painting: since the base for gold was also red (*bolus*), gold paintings had a red background before the gold was added or after it had peeled off.

The Crucifixion in the monastery church at Tkon (island of Pašman) is a typical *trecento* work with some distinctive features. The figures of Mary, St John and angels are gentle, conveying restrained feeling by their gestures. Connected with this is a group of similar paintings, also with a red background, probably by the same artist. Attempts have been made to identify the Master of the Tkon Crucifixion with various painters known from documents (Maestro di Sant Elsino, Menengello de Canali...), but whoever he may have been, his work has the characteristics of the "Dalmatian painting school".

Since the 14th century, Zagreb cathedral has had in its possession some valuable illuminated manuscripts of French and Bolognese origin. A fine example from a northern French workshop (influence of Honoré and J. Purcell) is the lavish *Biblia Pulchra et Solemnis*, while the already mentioned codices with a legal content are of interest because of their secular miniatures.

One of the most characteristic works of Croatian culture in the 14th century and a classic example of European chivalric culture of the *trecento* in general, is the Glagolitic Missal of Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, *ban* (viceroy) of Bosnia and duke of Split. It seems that the author of the miniatures was a local master (who also illuminated the manuscript known as *Hvalov*

zbornik in 1404), working in the manner of the master of the Trogir Crucifixion. The miniatures were undoubtedly done in Split in c. 1407. Apart from historical circumstances, this is confirmed by some of the motifs, such as the palace of Split in the background of a scene. In this lavishly illuminated manuscript with 94 miniatures, illustrations of the Bible, saints, allegories and scenes of the months on a dark blue background edged with gold, and 380 historiated initials, there are only three illustrations occupying a full page. One is the Crucifixion and two are "private" themes: the elaborately ornamented coat-of-arms of Duke Hrvoje, and the duke himself on horseback in full knightly apparel.

The portrait of Duke Hrvoje taking up a whole page of this religious book indicates how much the tiny donor of the Zadar Virgin had "grown up" in a century, and reflects, by its size, the dominant role played by the individual feudal lord in contemporary society. In fact, Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić was a major political figure of his time: "the King's main governor in Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia", and in addition "duke of Split". But this knight on horseback — *cavaliere, chevalier, Ritter* — is not just a passive subject on the page of the book but its commissioner, who by ordering books actively promoted literacy and culture. Even earlier, in 1368, another great lord, Novak, prince (*knez*) of Krbava, had himself written, in calligraphic Glagolitic, a prayer-book which doubly deserves its name of Prince Novak's Missal.

In the conflicts with Venice or struggles between rival rulers during the 14th century, the eastern Adriatic towns not infrequently placed themselves under the protection of Croatian lords or recognised their suzerainty (as Zadar recognised that of Ban Pavle Bribirski, for instance). Under the nominal sovereignty of the Hungarian-Croatian king, Croatia was actually ruled at that time by the princes and dukes of the Frankopan and Nelipić families, the princes of Bribir and the bans of Bosnia. It was in the 14th century that the integration of the coastal towns with their hinterland areas developed most intensively.

Hrvoje's Missal is significant in several ways. It shows the level reached by Croatian Glagolitic and the artistic activity of that period, while Hrvoje's portrait adumbrates the triumphant progress of portraiture from the manuscript to the painting of the following century.

However, at the moment when, elsewhere in Europe, the accumulation of Gothic naturalistic experience was giving birth to Renaissance realism, in northern Croatia and Bosnia the Turks appeared on the scene. Their incursions — to be precise, the battle of Krbavsko polje in 1493 — put an end, among other things, to the important Glagolitic manuscript copying centres and workshops for illumination in the Lika and Krbava regions. In several missals, "clerk Bartul" of Krbava adopted miniatures of the Italian *trecento* from Prince Novak's Missal, while the breviaries from Hum and codices from the Croatian Littoral (Vinodol, Senj, Krk) are, in turn, similar to Bartul's works. This lively activity in manuscript copying led on to the appearance of Glagolitic incunabula: the first Croatian Glagolitic missal was printed in 1483 (very likely in the same hinterland area, at Kosinje), and the second in 1490 at Senj. The older Glagolitic manuscripts of the Istrian group — Beram, Draguč, Hum — were illustrated with rustic drawings related to the Central European Gothic style.

However, Gutenberg's invention in the mid-15th century was no chance discovery nor merely a technical innovation: printing, which made possible the multiplication and spread of books in previously inconceivable quantities and with unimaginable speed, was the product of humanist aspirations and endeavours, and became a symbol of the Renaissance. The early appearance and adoption of printing in Croatia reflected the intellectual maturity of the environment, on a level with the European culture of the time.



97.

Dubrovnik, for many centuries (14th—18th) the only free republic on the eastern Adriatic coast, gained its urban contours in the 14th century, was mainly built in the 15th and 16th, and underwent reconstruction after an earthquake in the 17th.





RENAISSANCE

The Divergent Paths of the North and South

(15th & 16th centuries)

The “Renaissance centuries”, the 15th and 16th, were an era of great building activity in the Adriatic region of Croatia. Whole new city quarters were raised, and even complete planned towns (Pag, founded in 1443); city walls and towers were reconstructed or extended in almost all places (most notably in Dubrovnik, Korčula and Hvar); churches, chapels, bell-towers, monasteries and cloisters were built; churches were equipped with new stone ciboria, altars, paintings and sculptures, carved wooden choir stalls and other furniture; public buildings were raised or restored — from town halls and governor’s palaces in cities to public loggias in remote villages; hundreds of new stone houses and palaces were erected, and medieval dwellings were given a different interior lay-out, decorated stone wash-basins, fire-places and built-in cupboards, new façades with carved door and window frames, balconies with balustrades and relief ornamentation; arcaded covered walks were built and gardens laid out with Mediterranean flora, pergolas, stone benches and tables, fountains and fish-ponds . . .

All this was the product in equal measure of the mason and stone-carver’s skill, for architecture and sculpture on the eastern Adriatic have traditionally used exclusively stone as their material, unlike in Venice, for instance, where building was originally in brick. The relatively high number of works from the Renaissance period on the coast and islands — and all those mentioned in documents that have perished with time — testify to the existence of a vast number of local masterbuilders, masons and sculptors, whose names are recorded in contracts and archive lists. This broad basis of local craftsmen’s and artists’ workshops and their intensive activity allow us to speak without exaggeration of life in the Renaissance style and spirit in Dalmatia. In particular, we must focus on those works in Croatia which are important for the creation and *development* of Renaissance art in Europe. Most of our monuments from the 15th and 16th centuries “belong” to the Renaissance style, but three works of architecture from this period in Croatia — Šibenik cathedral, the chapel of the Blessed John in Trogir, and the Sorkočević villa at Lapad near Dubrovnik — are exceptional and, in the author’s opinion, make such a contribution to art that no survey of the European Renaissance can be considered complete without them.

The Renaissance on the eastern Adriatic coast may be considered to start in 1441 and last until the end of the 16th century, though mannerist elements are evident from the middle of that century. Early Renaissance architecture and sculpture, the work of Juraj Dalmatinac, appears first in Šibenik cathedral in 1441, only twenty or so years after the works that mark the beginning of the “new style” in European history: the early sculptures of Donatello, Brunelleschi’s cathedral dome (1420–34) and Masaccio’s Holy Trinity fresco (1426) in Florence, and the Ghent altar by the Van Eyck brothers (1432) in the Netherlands.

However, the Renaissance style here was not at first “pure”, but mixed with the Gothic, as was the case in other regions of Europe in the 15th century. Gothic features persisted, as is well known, in Florence itself, in the sculpture of Ghiberti and the painting of Fra Angelico. Even the most famous early Renaissance sculptures of Donatello (a fact not usually stressed) were placed in Gothic niches in the tower of Florence cathedral and the church of Or San Michele. Although these entities were created successively (in time) — the later statues placed in the older architectural frame, just as Brunelleschi’s dome was added to Florence’s Gothic cathedral — what is incontestable from the viewpoint of the beholder is their simultaneous existence (in space).

This is how they were seen, just completed, by Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac, born c. 1410 in Zadar, during his stay in Italy in the thirties of the 15th century. Thus, when Juraj, in the forties, designed and created his own version of the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style in Dalmatia, he was not a “backward” or “provincial” master, but following the most progressive sources of his time: Brunelleschi and Donatello, from the cradle of Renais-

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99.
Portal of the parish church of Cres, 15th century. The Renaissance frame is close to the style of the Firentinac-Alexi workshop (recalling their portal in the Tremiti islands), but the sculptures of the Annunciation are stiff and archaic.



sance art: Florence. The only difference is that Juraj designed at the same time, synchronously, what had elsewhere appeared diachronously: Renaissance sculpture in Gothic niches.

In fact, in the course of the 15th century, four styles rapidly succeeded one another or overlapped in Dalmatia: the early Gothic hard and "dry" Lombard style (third and fourth decades), the decorated or florid Venetian Gothic (third to sixth decades), the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style (from the fifth decade to the middle of the next century), and finally, the pure Renaissance (from the seventh decade on). The 15th century was perhaps the period of greatest artistic activity on the eastern Adriatic coast since antiquity, though some branches were to reach their zenith at the beginning of the 16th. This was a key period in the development of the life of the entire Croatian coastal region as a "peripheral" environment in the meaning of this term as defined by Lj. Karaman: a relatively autonomous milieu free to choose from among different models and open to a variety of influences, which it adopted independently, often combining them in a creative synthesis. But from the late 16th century it gradually became a "provincial" environment (in Karaman's sense of the word) of the type that lives more passively on the reflected glory of only one larger centre, in this case — Venice.

Of the mentioned stylistic trends in Dalmatia in the 15th century, the first, Gothic, period in the first third of the century is notable in sculpture for the works of Pietro di Martino and Bonino (both from Milan), in painting for those of Blaž Jurjev Trogiranin, and in architecture for the first phase of Šibenik cathedral (from 1431) by Francesco di Giacomo, Pincino, Bussato and others. In all areas, then, the dominant influence was the late Gothic of Lombard, north Italian origin.

The painting of Blaž Jurjev belongs to the late Gothic international style with its melodious line and fully-rounded but refined, idealised and decorative forms. The "appearance" of this artist is interesting in that scholars first noted a resemblance between a number of works and grouped them together, ascribing them to the same master, and only later, when his signature was discovered quite recently on one of the polyptychs, was it shown to be Blaž Jurjev. A dozen of his works have been preserved in Šibenik, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, Ston and Dubrovnik.

Bonino da Milano probably got his training in one of the largest Italian workshops of that time which was engaged on the building of Milan cathedral, but this artist of average ability displayed greater skill in executing decorated Gothic architectural ornamentation (on the portal of Korčula cathedral, for instance) than in his human figures, which are hard in outline and stiff, thereby appearing archaic, almost Romanesque.

It used to be asserted in art history surveys, and this view is still repeated even today in books, encyclopaedias, etc., that Michelozzi brought the Renaissance to Dalmatia from the more advanced Tuscan milieu in the sixties of the 15th century (1461, Dubrovnik). However, the first appearance of early Renaissance forms and methods in the visual arts in Dalmatia should be dated fully two decades earlier, to the start of the fifth decade, and attributed, as already mentioned, to a local master from Zadar: Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac. In 1441 Juraj concluded an agreement with the civic authorities of Šibenik to take over the building of the cathedral, and in 1443 he carved his name under two Renaissance relief putti on the transept beside the just completed apses: HOC OPVS CVVARVM FECIT MAGISTER GEORGIVS MATHEI DALMATICVS (These apses have been made by Master Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac).

In his very first work — the cathedral baptistry — Juraj introduced a number of elements of the early Renaissance architecture of Brunelleschi and the sculpture of Donatello's style. The soft modelling of the bodies of the three naked boys supporting the font and harmonious movements of the figures of youthful angels, their drapery flowing naturally over their firmly moulded bodies, on the ceiling are clearly Renaissance. But with his

100.

JURAJ DALMATINAC: The Flagellation (1448), relief on the altar of St Anastasius, Split cathedral. The lively movement, soft modelling of the naked body and spatial relationships of the figures show that Juraj had mastered the key tasks set by early Renaissance sculpture.

101.

East end of Šibenik cathedral with the transept and dome. Following the design of Juraj Dalmatinac (1441), who supervised the building of the lower sections until 1473, Nikola Firentinac completed the vaulting and the dome early in the 16th century, placing statues of St James and St Michael on top of the round gables.





102.
Interior of the baptistry of Šibenik cathedral, designed by Juraj Dalmatinac (1441–43). Three Renaissance putti support the font; the rounded niches surmounted by a scallop shell are also typically Renaissance elements. The upper sections are lavishly decorated with late Gothic architectural ornamentation. The baptistry is the first work in the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style in Dalmatia.

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103.

Two putti on a pilaster on the transept of Šibenik cathedral hold an inscription on its construction, while under their feet the architect has left his signature and the date, 1443. Below runs the frieze of heads which encompasses all three apses.

104.

Head in the apsidal frieze of Šibenik cathedral by Juraj Dalmatinac (1443). The concisely modelled and expressive face is effectively framed by the flowing hair and beard.

105.

Šibenik cathedral, 15th—16th century. Only from above can one gain an overall view of this unique work of European architecture, built entirely of stone by an ingenious assembly method, so that the same stone section, for instance, shapes the vaulting within and the semi-circular roof without.

106.

The vault of Šibenik cathedral's baptistry was assembled from nine stone sections fitted together without any bolts or mortar. The carved lower surfaces form the baptistry vault (four Gothic finials, a medallion with God the Father and a dove of Holy Spirit four sections with Renaissance angels), while the smooth upper side of the same nine sections serve as the paving slabs of the south aisle of the cathedral.

baptistry Juraj also founded the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style in Dalmatia. Alongside the elaborate ornamentation in late Venetian florid Gothic on the vault and around niches (usually the only thing noticed when viewed superficially), Juraj also gave the baptistry four semi-circular Renaissance niches with scallop shells and the first Renaissance free-standing sculpture in Dalmatia: a group of three boys in dynamic movement supporting the baptismal font. But even more important, the baptistry is designed as a circle inscribed in a square with remarkable harmony of proportions.

Juraj's individual and distinctive method of creatively combining Gothic and Renaissance trends is exemplified in the baptistry vault: the head of God the Father in the centre is framed in a laurel wreath — a typical Renaissance feature — but it is "hidden" behind a late Gothic band with an inscription. In the polygonal apses of Šibenik cathedral Juraj likewise adopted early Renaissance forms: fluted niches surmounted by a shell, while in the interior the niches are further framed by fluted pilasters with modified Corinthian capitals.

The niches of the three apses are shallow and carved into the monolithic stone slabs. To give them the appearance of greater depth, Juraj "raised" the bottom of the niche and "lowered" the upper edge, as though they were converging on the inside. By thus applying the rule of Renaissance geometrical perspective, he created the illusion that the niche was fully semi-circular.

In an original manner, too, Juraj worked out a uniform assembly system, using stone slabs grooved to fit into one another, by which the whole cathedral was constructed, from the baptistry vault to the summit of the dome. The baptistry ceiling, for instance, comprises nine stone sections, carved with reliefs on the underside, while the smooth upper surface serves as the floor of the south aisle.

In the sacristy, completed in 1454, Juraj reduced the treatment of the façade to a minimum, using monolithic slabs with smooth-sided niches carved into them. Although quite unusual in form, since some constructional solutions were taken from the tradition of building in wood, this "reduced" artistic expression (naked in comparison with the late Gothic decorative manner) is akin to the contemporary early Renaissance architecture of Brunelleschi in Italy.

The formalistic interpretation of certain architectural elements, for instance, of all pointed arches as Gothic, led to a mistaken assessment of the work of Juraj Dalmatinac. He employed both round and pointed arches simultaneously and on the same structure, according to building conditions and the laws of architectural design. The articulated niches on the apses are semi-circular on the exterior, but within, those on the sides of the lateral apses, because of the restricted space, are pointed. Thus, Juraj (without hesitation, and to the horror of later art historians obsessed with stylistic "purity") used these two "styles" on the two sides of one and the same stone block! Juraj's untrammelled spirit found expression not only in sculpture — figures in vigorous movement with flowing drapery and hair, but also in architecture — his free and undogmatic employment of the most varied forms of the visual arts of his epoch.

In the design of the transept and dome of Šibenik cathedral, Juraj followed the conceptions of the most progressive trend of his age — Brunelleschi, Florence — but at the same time he was creating a counterpart of the most important Dalmatian cathedral — that of Dubrovnik. Though it is no longer "before our eyes", having been destroyed in the earthquake of 1667, we must not forget this domed Romanesque basilica when considering Dalmatian architecture in the past, since its significance was manifold and its influence exceptional, in view of the importance and ties of the Dubrovnik Republic. Juraj's design for Šibenik cathedral was also to some extent similar to the cathedral in his native Zadar, which at that time had a wooden Gothic vault over the nave (raised by G. Bilšić in 1388), and not the present flat roof.



The frieze around the apses of Šibenik cathedral, on which Juraj carved seventy-two life-size portrait heads of ordinary men and women, youths and girls, is likewise unique in 15th-century European art. This "apsidal sculpture" occupies a prominent place in the evolution of the iconographic topography of cathedral sculpture, since it marked a shift of emphasis from the façade, where sculpture was traditionally grouped around the portal, to the apse, i. e. from the "front" to the "back" of the church. Moreover, this was the first time that sculpture exclusively secular in character was used on a religious building. The origin of the idea can be found only in secular architecture, such as the heads on the capitals of the arcade of the Doge's Palace in Venice, while the placing of the sculpture so close to the passer-by (regardless of whether he is about to enter the church) reflects the Renaissance humanist tendency in Juraj's work. The size, number, lively individualised portraiture and artistic quality of the heads of the apsidal frieze make them the dominant sculptural work of the cathedral, overshadowing the traditional iconography and mediocre sculpture of the west and north portals (by Bonjino).

In contemporary early Renaissance painting, the most striking example, closest in method and significance to Juraj's approach, is Piero della Francesca's Flagellation at Urbino (1444). In this, the scourging of Christ which gave the picture its name is pushed into the background and is relatively small, while the foreground is occupied by portraits of three contemporary figures. The same occurred in Šibenik cathedral: just as the apsidal section with the transept and dome predominated in Juraj's architectural design, so his sculptural heads on the apses attracted the most attention among the cathedral sculpture, thereby "reversing" the usual perspective (the "secondary" becoming "primary") and emphasising the humanist spirit of the early Renaissance.

Another iconographic innovation with the same humanist significance, and equally revolutionary in relation to a thousand years of tradition, is Juraj's treatment of the baptistry. Instead of showing Christ's Baptism on the vault, as had been the regular practice since the 5th century, he carved only a relief of God the Father and a dove representing the Holy Spirit surrounded by angels and seraphim. In place of Christ in the Jordan and John the Baptist, there is an infant being baptised in a font by a priest. This substitution of a human figure for the divine was again possible only by a bold innovator in the humanist atmosphere of the early Renaissance. It is characteristic that Juraj approached the subject as an architect, placing the baptism scene in space as a human "event" and not as an image on a flat surface (wall, dome, vault), as had previously been the practice. By his solutions, Juraj achieved a qualitative transition from the traditional medieval cathedral sculpture and iconography to a perfectly original Renaissance approach, to which there is nothing comparable in European sculpture in the first half of the 15th century.

Creative and undoctinaire, Juraj solved each new task in a specific and fresh manner. Thus, in the chapel of St Rainerius (Sveti Arnir) in Split (1444), he employed a Gothic rib vault, but framed the entrance to the chapel with a Renaissance round arch. The idea of a curtain above the saint's tomb is still Gothic, but the naked boys (putti) holding it back are completely Renaissance. Faced with the task of presenting in visual form for the first time a subject previously dealt with only verbally in legend, Juraj himself devised the iconographic solution of the composition (illustrating the most dramatic moment, the stoning of Bishop Rainerius), and for the figures, their postures and gestures turned, like other creative Renaissance masters, to classical models. For the relief on the saint's sarcophagus he took the figures of calm observers in classical garments directly from antique sarcophagi, while the enraged peasants stoning the bishop are presented like Herculean figures: naked and with lion's skins!

Under the contract signed in 1448 for the altar of St Anastasius in Split cathedral, Juraj was obliged to make a ciborium with an altar sarcophagus

107.

The Small Fountain in Dubrovnik, the work of Pietro Martini of Milan (c. 1446). For a long time this was called Onofrio's Fountain, after Onofrio della Cava, constructor of Dubrovnik's aqueduct, but the sculptural work is in fact by a master from the largest workshop in northern Italy at that time, which was engaged on the building of Milan cathedral.

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identical to and symmetrically placed in relation to the altar of St Domnius, completed in 1427 by Bonino da Milano. However, except for the dimensions and the composition as a whole, which he could not change, Juraj "outdid" his model in every respect. Opposite Bonino's static and schematic work of Lombard Gothic, he raised his own, in which late Venetian Gothic decoration was integrated with realistic early Renaissance sculpture in a lively organic whole. Determinedly rejecting the model, he replaced the rigid frontally-posed relief figure of the seated saint in the centre panel of Bonino's sarcophagus with a relief of the Flagellation of Christ: three nudes modelled in Renaissance fashion, interlinked in iconographically bold, animated and realistic movements. Juraj was a master of the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style, but it is the new Renaissance elements that are the finest features of his work.

The best known and most active of Juraj's pupils, Andreas Alexi, an Albanian from Durrës, became a master during the building of the apsidal section of Šibenik cathedral (1445–46). He collaborated with Juraj on other assignments and worked independently in Split and Rab, but most of his works have been destroyed. The only major project by Alexi still extant is the baptistry of Trogir cathedral (1467), a typical work in the "mixed" style: the rectangular area is covered by Gothic pointed barrel vaulting with Renaissance coffering; the small corner columns and leafy frieze are Gothic, while the frieze of putti with garlands is Renaissance. The baptistry was constructed by the same assembly method as Šibenik cathedral, and the articulation of the interior surfaces was modelled on that of the Šibenik apses with their shallow fluted niches with scallop shells. But while Juraj's niches have fine Renaissance proportions, Alexi's are elongated and without tectonic logic, almost the same width as the pilasters.

Alexi's sculpture in the Trogir baptistry — St John the Baptist and a relief of St Jerome in the cave — have a Gothic stiffness. Only the relief of Christ's Baptism outside, above the entrance — about three metres high, the largest 15th-century relief in Dalmatia — is clearly Renaissance in character, being composed after the famous Baptism by Piero della Francesca, with a group of three angels wearing diadems and a low horizon with two towns in the background. This relief, if indeed by Alexi, shows that Andreas was capable of altering his style in keeping with the model he was following or the artist with whom he was collaborating, as can be observed in other examples of his work. After Juraj, Alexi collaborated with Nikola Firentinac and adopted his pure Renaissance solutions. In association with Nikola, he undertook the execution of the Trogir chapel of the Blessed Bishop John, carving the statues of St Jerome and John the Baptist, and a series of reliefs of putti and angels, and followed him to Split, Šibenik and the Tremiti islands (Italy), where they worked together on the Renaissance façade of the church of St Mary (1473).

Nikola Ivanov Firentinac (Niccolo di Giovanni Fiorentino) came to Trogir in 1466 and participated in the completion of Alexi's baptistry, for which he carved four putti with garlands. With his design for the mausoleum chapel of Bishop John of Trogir, in 1467, Firentinac created what was for Dalmatia the first architectural-sculptural work in pure Renaissance style, without a trace of Gothic.

In view of Nikola's Florentine origin and the character of his work, his sculpture has always been rightly linked with that of Donatello. In recent scholarly publications, some notable monuments in Venice have been attributed to Nikola from the period prior to his arrival in Dalmatia: the Foscari arch in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace, the tomb of Doge Foscari, the Giustiniani and Capello groups, etc. If these are indeed by the youthful Nikola, they are his finest sculpture. No research has been done, though, on the origins of his architectural work: Donatello, we know, was only a sculptor, while Nikola was an architect as well, or even primarily. However, in some of Donatello's bronze reliefs in Padua (scene with a miser) we can distinguish some possible models



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Aesculapius' capital in the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, the work of Pietro Martini. On one side, a contemporary apothecary's is depicted, and on the other, its customers, one of whom has brought a couple of chickens instead of money as payment.

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109.
LOVRO DOBRIČEVIĆ: St Julian (1460), wing of a triptych in the church of Our Lady of Danče, Dubrovnik. The first appearance of the Renaissance spirit and method of simulation in Dubrovnik painting, this figure with the attributes of a saint is undoubtedly a portrait of an actual boy in the contemporary dress of the Dubrovnik nobility.

110.
LOVRO DOBRIČEVIĆ: The Baptism of Christ (1448), wing of a triptych in the sacristy of the Dominican church, Dubrovnik. The colours are dark, the modelling has a Gothic hardness, and the perspective is not yet Renaissance: the landscape "rises" instead of stretching into the distance; the level of water on Christ's legs is too high for where he is standing.

in the architectural background: coffered barrel vaulting and a row of circular windows, as in the Trogir chapel.

The small Renaissance chapel built onto the north side of Trogir cathedral (1468–1489) is undoubtedly Nikola's architectural masterpiece. The interior is entirely of stone and richly articulated, architecturally and sculpturally. On the outside the ground-plan is square, while on the inside it has the Renaissance relationship of width to length of 3:4. Together with the height, this gives what Alberti described as the "harmonious" proportions of 3:4:6. In scale and proportions, as well as in its coffered, semi-circular vault, it resembles the Small Temple of Diocletian's Palace in Split, but in the interior it differs fundamentally in the architectural division of wall space and in the abundance of sculpture and reliefs that makes it unique in the Europe of that period.

In the lower part there are twenty-one reliefs of putti bearing torches emerging from half-open doors (an antique funerary motif). The greater part of the wall space is occupied by eleven statues of apostles and saints (originally sixteen were planned) almost life-size, set in semi-circular niches with shells, while sixteen naked putti above them support the belt course surmounted by a row of circular windows. The recesses of the coffered barrel vault are not ornamented with rosettes, as in antiquity (or in Alexi's baptistry), but filled with the heads of seraphim (ninety-six in number), while the central medallion of a laurel wreath contains the figure of God the Father. In this space, we are "observed" by a total of one hundred and sixty human faces!

The sculptural and relief ornamentation of the chapel is entirely in stone. This use of a single material and the assembly method, specific to Juraj, were adopted by Alexi in the baptistry, so that in this respect Nikola's chapel is a natural continuation of a regional Dalmatian tradition, even though the architect came from Italy. Early Renaissance Florentine interiors, in fact, were bare, smooth plaster walls with low-relief stone architectural elements, or else combined various techniques and materials (frescoes, bronze and ceramic reliefs, for instance).

In the Trogir chapel, on the contrary, even the altar is an integral part of the architecture, built into the wall, creating the illusion of a stone triptych with two open "wings". In front of it stands a sculpture of the Resurrected Christ, while the lunette above the altar contains a relief of the Coronation of the Virgin. Two sculptures in niches by Ivan Duknović harmonise with the figures carved by Nikola and Alexi. These are a signed statue of St John the Evangelist, classically restrained and static (1485), and a statue of St Thomas (1506), a later work of a somewhat tired and aging artist.

The Trogir chapel, the first stylistically pure Renaissance monument, marks the moment when the early Renaissance reached maturity in Dalmatia, and by the manner in which Nikola Firentinac deals with the relationship of architecture and sculpture in the interior, heralds the approach of the high Renaissance. So significant is Nikola's synthesis of space and volume that it is quite unjustified to consider his sculpture apart from the architecture, as is often done, since their value lies precisely in their combined effect within the whole.

As the tomb of Bishop John of Trogir (12th century), the chapel had a memorial function. In view of the fact that its form with niches corresponds to antique models (for instance, the Early Christian mausolea excavated beneath the church of St Peter in Rome), we may number it among those achievements that justify the name borne by the whole age: the rebirth of antiquity. But at the same time, the Trogir chapel corresponds to the regional Dalmatian early medieval architectural tradition of small longitudinal churches with a square apse and vault, articulated within by pilasters and semi-circular niches. A further echo of this tradition, besides the niches, is the medallion with God the Father in the centre of the chapel vault, in the spot where the small dome was placed in some of the Pre-Romanesque churches.



Nikola's other great architectural work was the continuation and virtual completion of Šibenik cathedral, as its chief architect (*protomagister*) from 1475 until his death in 1505. What is most important is that he followed the spirit of Juraj's design, retaining his overall conception of the structure, the exclusive use of stone as the building material and the unique assembly method of construction. In consequence, although he gave the upper part of the cathedral a pure early Renaissance character, the result is a harmonious whole. Nikola also executed some reliefs in the interior and the monumental free-standing sculptures on the gables of the transept and sanctuary — outstanding among them the youthful and noble figure of St Michael.

Besides the Trogir chapel, Šibenik cathedral and the aisleless church of St Mary in Šibenik — in which there is an incomplete but expressive relief by Nikola of the Emtombment of Christ — this master was also responsible for a number of reliefs and statues in Trogir and other Dalmatian towns. While his reliefs on the portal of the Čipiko palace in Trogir, and reliefs of the Madonna and Child on the façades of the Franciscan churches in Orebić and Hvar display the serene idealised style of the early Renaissance, the large relief Pietà (1470) on the Čipiko altar in Trogir is reminiscent in its expressive and dramatic power of Donatello's later work. A similar lamenting figure appears in the relief of the wall tomb of the Sobot family in Trogir, carved with the help of Alexi in 1468. In contrast, the figure of St Sebastian in Trogir demonstrates his capacity for lively and soft modelling of the human body, and the destroyed relief of a lion from the Trogir town loggia testified to his skill in depicting animals.

Like Juraj before him, Nikola displayed both vivacity and sensitivity, but in addition he could, on occasions, convey a classical serenity not found in the work of Dalmatinac. Movement is nevertheless present in most of his reliefs: the putti of the Trogir chapel emerging at a variety of angles from the half-open doors or supporting the belt course, their bodies revealing the strain of the weight and effort; the figures in the tragic scene of the lamentation over the dead Christ (Pietà), with their anguished expressions and despairing gestures; the restrained inclined figures of the Virgin and Christ in the Coronation relief.

The complex Renaissance scheme embodied in Šibenik cathedral — the trend towards a centralised area expressed by the monumental sanctuary and transept with a dome on the crossing, the functional shape of the trefoil façade, the use of perspective and illusionist solutions in the design, the classical-Renaissance architectural members and decoration, and the new realistic and humanist iconography of the cathedral sculpture — is not found in its entirety in any other Renaissance monument in Croatia, none of which equals it in importance. Nevertheless, the cathedral had a considerable impact on religious architecture in the Adriatic region. It is typical of the poorer architects of later buildings that they did not adopt the solutions to key architectural-spatial problems offered by Šibenik cathedral. Hence, there were no successors in dome construction, the main preoccupation of *quattrocento* architecture in general.

The most obvious influence is that exerted by the characteristic façade of Šibenik cathedral, seen in a series of churches from Istria to Dubrovnik with trefoil or simple round gables — the latter being the Šibenik façade reduced to its central section. As a rule, aisled churches had trefoil façades and those with just a simple nave, the semi-circular gable, but there are examples of the latter type church with a trefoil façade.

However, nowhere else, ever again, do we find the same functional correspondence between the shape of the façade and the space (vaulting) of the interior as at Šibenik. Instead, such façades are merely a front screening an ordinary basilica with a pitched roof over the nave and lean-to roofs over the side aisles. This screen-type of trefoil façade is also found on the neighbouring coast of the Adriatic: San Zaccharia or San Michele in Venice, for example. Simple semi-circular façades of churches without



111.

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IVAN DUKNOVIĆ: Portrait of a Poet Laureate, late 15th-century relief built into the Čipiko palace, Trogir. The sculptor of this early Renaissance work is best known for his portraits of the Hungarian king, Mathias Corvinus, and his queen, also in profile.

aisles also conceal a pitched roof. The only exception — the counterpart of Šibenik — is the façade of the aisleless church of S. Maria dei Miracoli (1481–89) in Venice, where the round gable corresponds to the shape of the barrel-vaulting inside (executed in wood and covered with lead!).

Among the churches in Croatia with a trefoil façade, the oldest is the cathedral at Osor, begun in the sixties and consecrated at the end of the 15th century. Its plain façade, without the horizontal or vertical articulation characteristic of other façades of this type, corresponds to the internal division of the basilica, in which the nave is twice as wide as the lateral aisles. In 16th-century engravings Osor cathedral is depicted with a dome like Šibenik's. Since documents record that Juraj stayed at Osor as early as 1449, and until 1465 had connections with Bishop Palčić of Osor, for whom he designed a palace at Pag, it is probable that Osor cathedral was also begun in accordance with his design. But instead of stone, the vaults and dome of Osor cathedral may have been of wood, covered with sheets of lead, like those of S. Maria dei Miracoli in Venice and the former vaulting of Zadar cathedral.

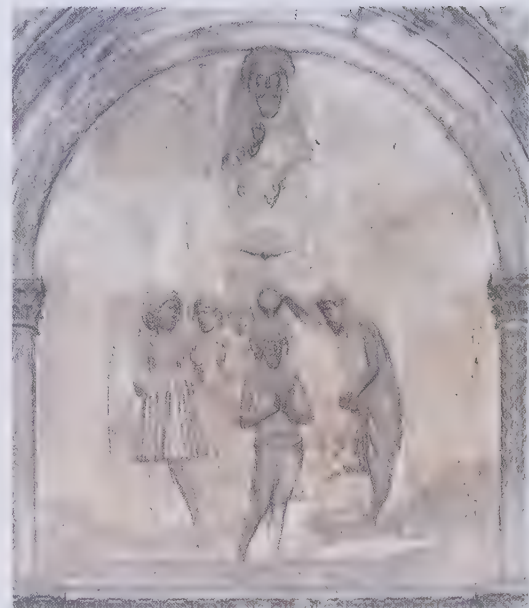
The portal of Osor cathedral is similar in design to that of Nikola Firentinac and Alexi for the Tremiti portal, dating from roughly the same time. If the heightened sanctuary, vaulting and dome were according to Juraj's plan, resembling Šibenik cathedral, the Renaissance façade like the one completed by Nikola Firentinac, and the portal also similar to his designs — then the cathedral at Osor was a "second version" of Šibenik's not only in form but from the point of view of its creators, since it marks the continuation of the creative activity of the two greatest architects of the 15th century in Dalmatia.

Trefoil façades are also found on the aisled parish churches of St Mary at Svetvinčenat in Istria (completed in 1555), and the early Romanesque Benedictine church of St Mary in Zadar, altered and lengthened in the first half of the 16th century (built by M. Filipović of Zadar, N. Španić of Korčula, and D. Vušković and I. Vitačić of Split). Of all the façades of this type, St Mary's in Zadar is the most architecturally articulated, having a third belt course instead of two (added at the level of the matroneum in the interior).

But while the Zadar façade retains the classical Renaissance proportions and early Renaissance flatness, the front of Hvar cathedral, designed in the fifth decade of the 16th century by the Korčulan builder Nikola Karlić, is notable for its relief character, multitude of members, elongation and vertical tendency, already displaying a mannerist taste. The mannerist "trick" is the relationship of the façade to the building behind it: the church is tripartite — a nave with two aisles — like the trefoil façade, but instead of corresponding to the size and division of the nave and aisles, it covers only the width of the nave. In other words, it conceals, instead of revealing, the true form of the church. In front of the left aisle stands the bell-tower, level with the façade, while the right aisle is recessed by one bay to make room for a street, because of the confined space.

Original in design and interesting in its proportions is the four-story bell-tower, begun some twenty years before the façade. Constructed by the Korčulan builders and sculptors Marko and Nikola Karlić and M. Pavlović Milić, it is an unusual stylistic amalgam: besides its dominant Renaissance morphology and some Gothic echoes, it employs the typical Romanesque method of opening up towards the summit, with one-, two-, three- and four-light apertures in succession. Similar to this is the bell-tower of the Franciscan church at Hvar, begun by Marko Andrijić in 1507 and completed by his son, Blaž, with N. Španić, except that it has a final octagon, as was more usual, while the cathedral bell-tower instead has one more story. Since the stories gradually increase in height — with a proportional narrowing of the openings — characteristic mannerist elongation is achieved.

The church of St Saviour (Sveti Spas) in Dubrovnik is an example of a trefoil Renaissance façade on a small aisleless church with cross-ribbed



112.

112

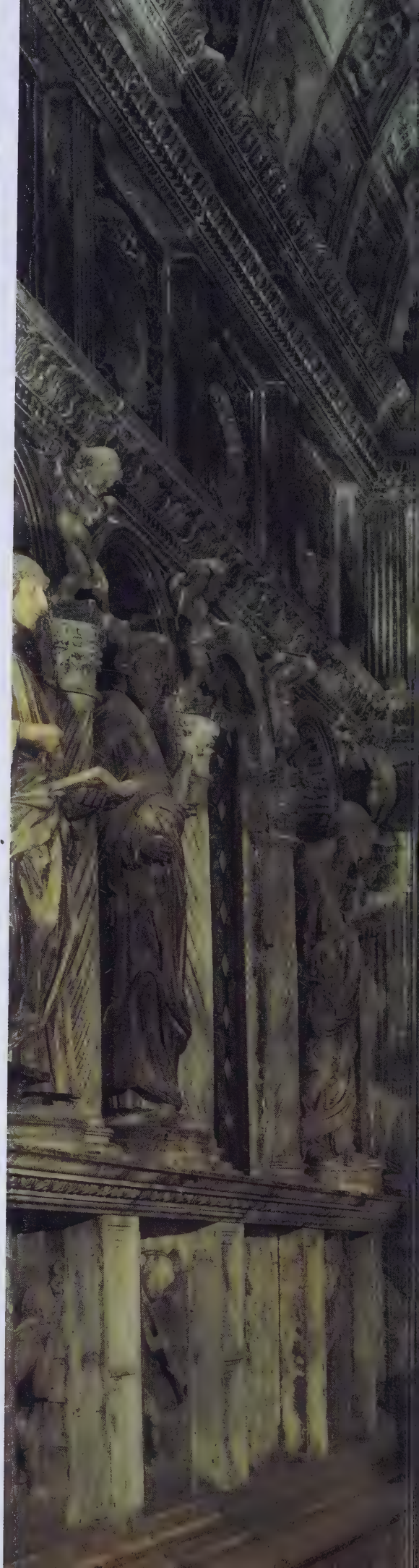
ANDREAS ALEXI: The Baptism of Christ (1468), relief over the entrance to the baptistry of Trogir cathedral. The composition must have been modelled on Piero della Francesca's famous Baptism (London); this alone would explain the daringly low horizon and shallow Jordan.

113.

Putto (antique winged genius) blowing to make the torch burn higher: one of seventeen reliefs in the lower part of the Trogir chapel. The cherubim peer out of half-open doors. Instead of the traditional Christian Hell, Nikola Firentinac, in humanist fashion, presents a picture of the Underworld closer to pagan antiquity.

114.

Interior of the chapel of the Blessed John of Trogir, Trogir cathedral, built between 1468 and 1482 by Nikola Firentinac and Andreas Alexi. The chapel is filled from floor to vault with reliefs and sculptures.







115.
Ivan Duknović: St John the Evangelist, late 15th century, in the chapel of the St. John Ursini. The classical simplicity of the tunic folds recalls the serene statuesque quality of the Doric style, while the sharp folds in the cloak are typical for the master.

vaulting. It was built by the Korčulan Petar Andrijić in 1520. Another of the same type is the church of St George (Sveti Juraj) at Pag, also from the 16th century. In the aisleless church of St Roch (Sveti Rok) in Split (1516), a single rounded gable harmoniously completes the series of semi-circular arches in the arcade of the Peristyle in Diocletian's Palace (as a "full" arch). The façade of the church of the Holy Spirit (Sveti Duh) in Šibenik is also surmounted by a rounded gable.

A great many 15th- and 16th-century churches were built in the traditional form of a basilica or aisleless church with a gable corresponding to the sloping sides of the pitched roof, and often topped by a bell-cot. A small but good example is the aisleless church of the Annunciation (Blagovijest) in Dubrovnik (P. Andrijić, 1537). There are, however, unusual buildings completely outside the mainstream of the artistic preoccupations of their time, which we can consider only in the light of local and historical conditions. Such examples are the fortress church at Vrboska on Hvar (1579) and the fortress church of the Holy Spirit at Sudjuradj on Šipan (1577), both built as a refuge for the population and a protection against Turkish or pirate attacks.

Also distinctive is the parish church at Pag — a Renaissance planned town founded in 1443 — which has an "old-fashioned" Romanesque façade, since the citizens demanded that the new church should resemble the old one they had left behind at Stari (Old) Pag. Although the designer (Juraj Dalmatinac?) kept to the composition of the old church (built by Paulus da Sulmona at the end of the 14th century), the sculpture on the new façade acquired a Renaissance fullness, and in the relief of the Virgin Protectress above the portal there is a realistic representation of a group of men and women from Pag in contemporary dress.

Amongst the architectural monuments of Dalmatia, the bell-tower of Korčula cathedral, begun in the 14th century (J. Correr), extended later in a simple form (R. Ivančić, 1440), and completed with an elaborate bell loggia (M. Andrijić, 1480), is remarkable as the most splendid example of a composite style in which Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance forms are combined in a profuse ornamentation of south Italian, Apulian origin.

The most interesting example of secular architecture from the 15th century is the Gothic-Renaissance Rector's Palace (Knežev dvor) in Dubrovnik. As in the Šibenik baptistry, the later (Renaissance) style dominates on the ground floor and the earlier (Gothic) on the upper part, but here this inversion was the result of successive building activity and not simultaneous design, as in the case of Juraj's work. The restoration of the medieval palace, damaged by a gunpowder explosion (1463), was begun by Michelozzi with the construction of the Renaissance arcade on the ground floor, and completed later by more conservative local builders (Bogosalić, Grubačević, Bogojević, Radosalić) with Gothic two-light windows on the first floor.

At the invitation of the Grand Council (the highest government body of the Dubrovnik Republic), Michelozzo Michelozzi stayed in Dubrovnik from 1461 to 1464, and began the reconstruction of the city walls and towers. The tall, square, 14th-century Gothic towers, designed for defence against "cold" arms, were encircled by Michelozzi with low bastions with terraces for active defence with firearms. For the highest part of the city walls he planned the great cylindrical Minčeta tower, a masterpiece of early Renaissance fortificational architecture, which was given its final form by Juraj Dalmatinac.

While we have had to move the appearance of early Renaissance architecture and sculpture some two decades backward in relation to the previously accepted date, on the basis of the evidence that Juraj's design for Šibenik cathedral (1441) was contemporary with the first European early Renaissance achievements, Renaissance painting, in contrast, arrived considerably later here. The most dynamic period in exploring and creating the new style, from the third to fifth decades, had already passed when the

first sign of the Renaissance appeared in the prevailing late Gothic painting in Dalmatia.

Almost nothing is left of 15th-century wall painting in Dalmatia. The fragments of frescoes by Dujam Vušković on the vault of the ciborium of Bonino's altar (1427) in Split cathedral point to the international late Gothic. Paintings on wood are also few in number prior to the sixties: besides international Gothic works, like those of Blaž Jurjev Trogiranin, there are some in the Venetian-Byzantine tradition with either the Venetian elements predominant, as in the work of Ugrinović, or the Byzantine — Junčić.

The first glimmer of the Renaissance spirit appeared in Dubrovnik in the opus of Lovro Dobričević. In his Baptism of Christ, the centre panel of the polyptych in the Dominican church (1448), Christ's body is still rigid and gaunt in the late Gothic manner, while the landscape is flat with linear spirally stylised waves of the Jordan.

In contrast, in the triptych of Our Lady of Danče (1465) in the Dubrovnik church of that name, although the Madonna is placed in the midst of a Gothic cluster of seraphim, her face already radiates the new spirit, as do the angel musicians. The achievement of greater depth by means of niches with figures of saints is also Renaissance in character. But the finest and most typically Renaissance of Lovro's works is the figure of St Julian in this triptych. This small boy in the contemporary dress of the nobility is the first true, realistic Renaissance portrait in the 15th-century painting of Dalmatia. There can be no doubt that the model was one of Dobričević's contemporaries, probably the son of a Dubrovnik patrician family. A sculptural work comparable to this portrait is Juraj's relief of Bishop Šišgorić on his tomb (+1454), while the relief portrait head of a humanist (the writer Sabelić) in Trogir, ascribed to Ivan Duknović, is similarly lifelike and convincing.

Wooden sculpture occupied an important place in Gothic artistic production, but few earlier examples are extant. From the 15th century, however, we have a huge number of wooden statues, crucifixes, altars and, particularly, elaborate choir stalls in late Gothic style. Richly carved and ornamented with gabled baldachins and finials, these stalls were originally painted with gold, red and blue, further enhancing the splendour of their appearance. The finest examples are in Poreč, Rab, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Hvar, Korčula, Ston and Dubrovnik. The names of some local and foreign masters are known to us, such as the woodcarvers Matej Morozin and Petar de Riboldis in Zadar, and Ivan Budislavić in Trogir. The highest level of artistry in wooden sculpture was attained by Juraj Petrović. His great wooden crucifix in Šibenik (1455) with its medieval iconographic representation of the pathetic dying Christ already adumbrates Renaissance realism in the modelling of the body.

The supreme achievement of late Gothic sculpture in Dalmatia is the stone portal of the Minorite church in Dubrovnik, with the Virgin and dead Christ in the lunette, the work of the brothers Leonard and Petar Petrović (1498).

The miniatures of Duke Hrvoje's Missal (1404) marked at the same time the culmination of 14th-century painting and the beginning of the new century. To illustrate the range of quality of the art of that period we may compare these with the fresco of the Living Cross at Lindar in Istria (1409), which, in contrast to the "court" style of the miniatures, belongs to the domain of popular, naive painting. Religious dogma is here given visual form by the literal translation of words into pictures. The narrative approach and moralising-didactic content are Gothic in spirit, but the flatness of the figures is closer to the timelessness of naive art than to Gothic painting.

In the number of extant frescoes — found in some eighty localities — Istria is the richest area of Croatia, and the 15th century is the most important period of Istrian wall painting. The most outstanding in quality,

116.

Nikola Firentinac: St Paul (1482), sculpture in the Trogir chapel of St. John Ursini. Distinguished by a powerful monumentality, this manly portrait of a thinker shows the artist's typical treatment of drapery, which appears wet.





117.
IVAN ĐUKNOVIĆ: Putto with a Torch, late 15th century. Municipal Museum, Trogir. This small sculpture, carved with great virtuosity, breathes life and movement, as though the figure has just alighted on the ground.

118.
NIKOLA FIRENTINAC: The Lamentation, relief on the Čipiko altar in Trogir cathedral. The most impressive work by Firentinac, recalling the late works of his teacher, Donatello. The drama and pathos of the scene are heightened by the unusual crack in the stone which subsequently halved the Virgin's face.

in number of compositions and figures, and as representative examples of different influences are the fresco cycles in Pazin (1460), Lovran (1475), Žminj (1471), Oprtalj (the work of three different masters dating up to 1471), Beram (1474) and Hrastovlje (1490). Here the Adriatic-Mediterranean and Alpine-Central European circles meet and intermingle, reflecting the political division of Istria in that period between Venice, occupying the coastal areas of the peninsula, and the Duchy of Kärnten (counts of Pazin) in the interior.

The polygonal sanctuary with stellar vaulting in the parish church of Pazin (1441) is the most impressive example of this type of apse in Istria, and together with St Jerome's in Rijeka, probably served as the model for other similar churches in Istria and the Kvarner region. The apse is the work of foreign masters, as are the impressive Pazin frescoes (1460) by the Master of Brixen in the Tyrol, with a Genesis cycle (The Creation of the World) and legends about angels. Also in Central European style are the frescoes in the sanctuary of the parish church at Lovran (1475), with angel musicians on the vault — the most complete presentation of medieval instruments and music-making in Croatia. In the idealised Gothic style, these are pictorially similar to the frescoes of Vincent of Kastav. On the walls there are scenes of Christ's Passion and legends of martyr saint in the manner of expressive Gothic naturalism.

The frescoes at Žminj, in Holy Trinity church, are directly linked with Slovenia (the Master of Mače), those at Pićan are also of continental origin, while the wall paintings by Master Albert at Paz (1461) are in flamboyant Venetian Gothic vein. In contrast, the frescoes in the church of St Mary at Oprtalj, besides their Central European Gothic features, show the Renaissance influences of the Italian *quattrocento*: in the Annunciation, for instance, the linear perspective in architecture and landscape (Klerigin of Koper, 1471).

From various artistic components and sources, and the following of drawings and wood-cuts of Biblical scenes that circulated among contemporary painters in Central Europe, serving as iconographic models, a regional Istrian art developed, best represented by the workshop at Kastav, a fortified village near Rijeka, from which Masters Vincent and Ivan originated. The former, with two assistants, painted the cemetery church of St Mary (Sveta Marija na Škrilinah) near Beram in 1474, while the latter decorated Holy Trinity church (Sveto Trojstvo) at Hrastovlje, in the Slovenian part of Istria, in 1490 (after decorating the church of St James at Barban). The Gothic qualities of Vincent's workshop are the pronounced volume of the figures and vivid colours. Besides its restrained expression (in the scenes executed by the Master of the Passion), in places one can already distinguish the stiff stylisation of the ornamentally treated drapery which was to be fully developed in the frescoes of the "Colourful Master" at Dvigrad.

In the cycle of the life of Christ at Beram, emphasis is placed on the Passion, in typically Gothic fashion, but the interior of the church is dominated by the large scene, occupying the whole north wall, of the Adoration of the Magi with its secular content, interpreted as a contemporary knightly cavalcade, and by a cycle with a socially critical and moralising note common in popular painting of the time — the Dance of Death (in which, alone, all members of feudal society were equal) and the Wheel of Fortune.

Employing softer modelling and a lighter colour scale, Ivan of Kastav further extended the secular range of subjects in the frescoes of Holy Trinity church (1490) at Hrastovlje. In addition to the dominant cavalcade of the Adoration and procession of the dead, as at Beram, he painted a "calendar" of twelve scenes from the life and work of the peasant typical of each month of the year in medallions on the aisle vaults. The Genesis cycle on the nave barrel vault is a reworking of a fine model — the Pazin vault frescoes — by the hand of an inferior painter, but the subject matter is







119.

VINCENT OF KASTAV: *Dance of Death, detail of a fresco in the church of St Mary at Beram (Istria). By showing the equality of all in death, the late medieval artist consoled the common man for the injustices of this world.*

120.

LEONARD and PETAR PETROVIĆ: *Virgin Mary with the Dead Christ (1499), lunette of the portal of the Franciscan church, Dubrovnik. Late Gothic influence is evident in the figure of Christ and exuberant leafy ornamentation. Only the rounded figure of the Virgin is close to the Renaissance in spirit.*



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121.

NIKOLA BOŽIDAREVIĆ: *The Annunciation (1513), Dominican church, Dubrovnik. Combining the experience of various Italian Renaissance trends (Venetian in the figures, Umbrian in the architecture and landscape), Božidarević created a distinguished work with an exquisitely painted blue vase in the centre.*

122.

MIHAJLO HAMZIĆ: *The Baptism of Christ (1509), Rector's Palace, Dubrovnik. The influence of Mantegna can be seen in the landscape, but Hamzić adopted only Renaissance forms (the figure of the angel) and not the Renaissance method of spatial arrangement (the disproportionately large figures).*

enriched with realistic details from rural life (farm implements, the poorly furnished hut of Adam and Eve). The frescoes of Antun of Kašćerga, chronologically the last works of Istrian wall painting (1529 and 1535), echo Venetian Renaissance models, but the results demonstrate the inability of the Istrian rural environment to deal with the artistic problems of more developed milieux.

Istrian architecture of the 15th century displays the stylistic duality of the painting. Local craftsmen gave a provincial character to Pula's early Byzantine cathedral during its restoration (1446), replacing the arcades with squat columns with flat, variously carved capitals resembling well heads. The cathedral's south portal (1456), transferred from another church (St John's), is the earliest appearance of Renaissance iconography in Istrian sculpture — putti with vines — but the carving of the reliefs is flat and linear, and the proportions and movements of the figures are awkward.

The portal of the episcopal complex in Poreč (1468), with more classical proportions and Renaissance articulation, remained an isolated example in Istria. It is not until the high Renaissance in the 16th century that we find complete architectural achievements: mansions in Labin, Buzet, Poreč and elsewhere. Gothic forms dominated 15th-century architecture in the interior of Istria, where a number of small churches adopted the polygonal sanctuary with rib vaulting as in Rijeka (1359) or the stellar vaulting of the Pazin church (1441).

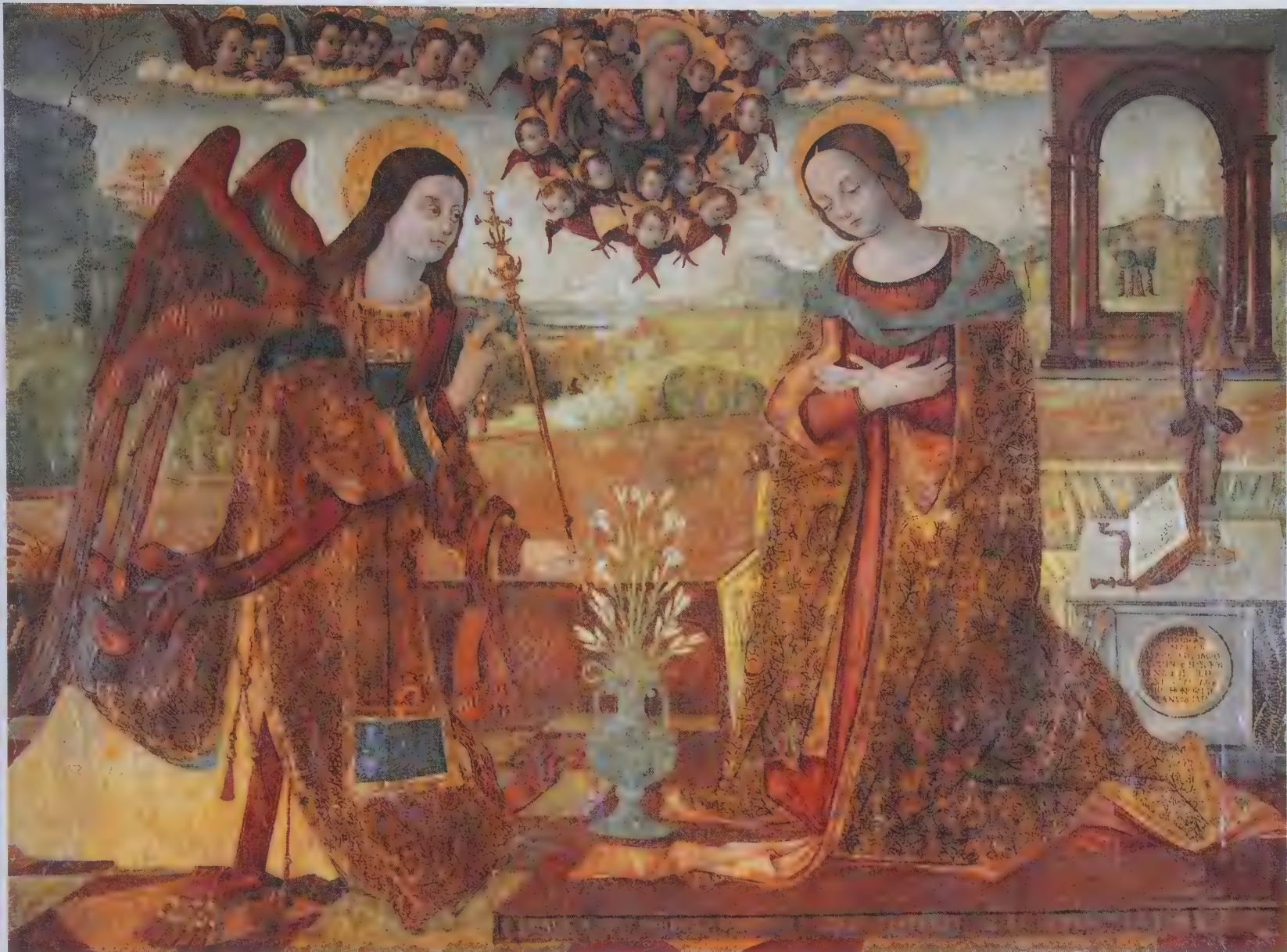
Following the fate of the arts in Croatian regions as a whole, we may say that the 16th century was a turning-point, but in opposite directions. For the coastal areas — Dalmatia, the Croatian Littoral, Kvarner and Istria — it was the culminating phase of development and start of a gradual decline; for the northern, continental regions, — then called Croatia and Slavonia — it was the lowest point, to be followed, in the next century, by growing economic prosperity, increasing artistic activity and rapid cultural progress.

The appearance of Protestantism in Istria in the third decade of the 16th century and its iconoclastic attitude put an end to the previously intensive activity in the domain of popular, rustic wall painting. However, in the same century a large number of Gothic Catholic churches was raised in the interior: at Oprtalj, Boljun, Štrbed and elsewhere, and there was also considerable urban construction in even the smallest places.

In Dalmatia, building activity flourished in the cities. The most impressive civic monument is the Dubrovnik mint and customs office, the Divona (1518–24). Rural architecture — the building of summer villas which constitute the most creative contribution of Croatia to the art of the European high Renaissance — reached its zenith, in quantity as in quality, in the 16th century, which produced the finest examples, from the Sorkočević villa at Lapad near Dubrovnik (1521) to the Skočibuha on Šipan (1560–80), from those that were the homes of poets on the island of Hvar (Lucić, Hektorović) and Vis (Gazarović) to those on the edge of towns, such as the Pucić and Betondić villas in Dubrovnik.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Renaissance painting attained its highest flights in the altar polyptychs of Nikola Božidarević, and at the end of the century in the wall painting of the Dubrovnik villas, with their classical-allegorical and mythological-humanist subjects. Šibenik cathedral was completed (1555), while the building of Hvar cathedral in the transitional high Renaissance-mannerist style continued throughout the century.

In the continental region of Croatia, building activity in the 16th century was almost exclusively confined to fortifications, but the number of castles, forts and city defences that were built and reconstructed was unbelievably large. The application of contemporary Renaissance conceptions and forms of fortification produced some outstanding results. The most original and important are Veliki Tabor, the castle of the Ratkaj family, and Karlovac fortress — a newly built Renaissance "ideal town".









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123.
Nikola Božidarević: Orsat Đorđić's
Altarpiece (1513), sacristy of the Dominican
church, Dubrovnik. The majestic figures of
this *Sacra Conversazione* fill almost the
entire area of the painting. The miniature
donor by the foot of St. Matthew echoes an
earlier tradition.

124.
NIKOLA BOŽIDAREVIĆ: SS Julian and James,
detail of the Djordjić family altarpiece. The
faces are expressive and the rich clothing of
the contemporary nobility is skilfully
executed.

125.
Upper section of the façade and bell-tower
of Korčula cathedral. The final story of the
tower was built by Ratko Ivančić and the
octagonal lantern by Marko Andrijić (after
1480).

126.
Hvar cathedral. The tower (second quarter of
the 16th century) is mannerist in effect with
its elongated top story. The façade,
completed in the 18th century, covers only
the middle nave of the aisle basilica.

The specific characteristics of the Croatian artistic and architectural heritage of the 16th century in relation to the European heritage of that period may be summed up by its regional division of subjects and tasks as a consequence of specific historical conditions. The Croatian regions, taken as a whole, responded to all the artistic stimuli of the age, but historical necessity imposed differences instead of fostering universality: religious and secular architecture developed most intensively in Dalmatia, while military architecture flourished in northern Croatia. But if, disregarding the territorial and political division, we select, as symbols of the 16th century, Hvar cathedral and the completion of the Trogir bell-tower, the Divona in Dubrovnik, the smallest villa — the residence of the poet Lucić on Hvar — and the most developed — the Sorkočević villa at Lapad, Božidarević's polyptychs and Klovčić's miniatures, Veliki Tabor and Karlovac — we shall see that, aside from sculpture, which stagnated, Croatian art of this period, too, may be represented by a series of outstanding works in European art history.

In the history of Croatia, this was an extremely dramatic moment: the Turks reached the utmost limits of their expansion, threatening Vienna itself, and overran and occupied the regions of Srem, Slavonia, Krbava, Lika and Kordun, reducing the former territory of Croatia to one third, and, in addition, making frequent incursions into the interior. The whole population was obliged to live in a permanent state of warfare and defence for fully one hundred years: from the defeat at Krbavsko polje in 1493, and the catastrophe of Mohacs in 1526, till the first victory near Sisak in 1593. Understandably, then, instead of religious or domestic architecture, the Renaissance in Zagreb, for instance, is reflected in the building of fortifications: the high wall with five round towers (1513—1521) around the uncompleted cathedral at Kaptol. Plundering, burning, and carrying off slaves, the Turkish jannissaries penetrated into northern Istria during the 16th century and even reached Trieste.

All those fortifications with cylindrical towers, round bastions and pentagonal revelins reflect Renaissance innovations in warfare: the use of gunpowder, fire-arms and active defence with the aid of artillery. The whole vast fortificational building activity was directed by Italian military engineers from Graz: after centuries of political ties with Hungary, the victory of Ferdinand I Habsburg had strengthened the links of northern Croatia with Austria. The influence of the Italian Renaissance thus reached here from the north via Austria, while, in an equally strange manner, the influence of the Dalmatian Renaissance spread by a reverse route throughout Hungary from the court of Mathias Corvinus, where many Croatian artists and craftsmen were employed.

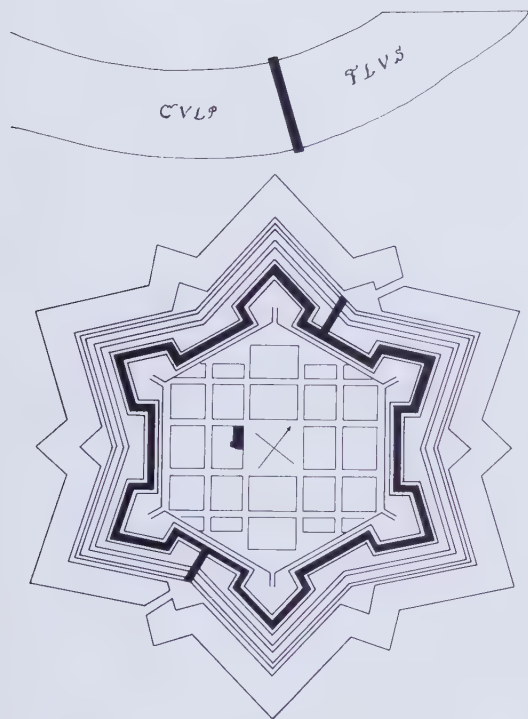
Varaždin fortress was reconstructed (1550) by G. and A. de Riva, according to the design of Domenico del'Allia, who built the fortifications of Graz. From 1543 to 1563 he was in charge of the whole programme of building and strengthening fortifications in the Croatian and Slavonian Vojna Krajina (Military Zone), as these regions of the Austrian Empire were then called. As the interest of the Austrian authorities and Italian architects clearly shows, what hung in the balance was not just the fate of Croatia: a decisive, historic struggle for Europe was being waged on this territory.

The name of del'Allia is linked with the designs for the fortifications of Koprivnica, Križevci (rectangular with corner bastions), Ivanić-Grad, Severin, Bisag and Jastrebarsko. Sisak fortress, triangular with three round towers and a forecourt with a pentagonal tower, appears to have been designed by Pietro of Milan, with the assistance of Domenico of Brescia and local masters, while Petrinja fortress, with five bastions and an outlying fort with four bastions on the opposite bank of the river Kupa, was built in 1595 by C. Porta.

Quite distinct from the typical square, rectangular, triangular and polygonal fortresses with corner bastions and revelins between them is Veliki

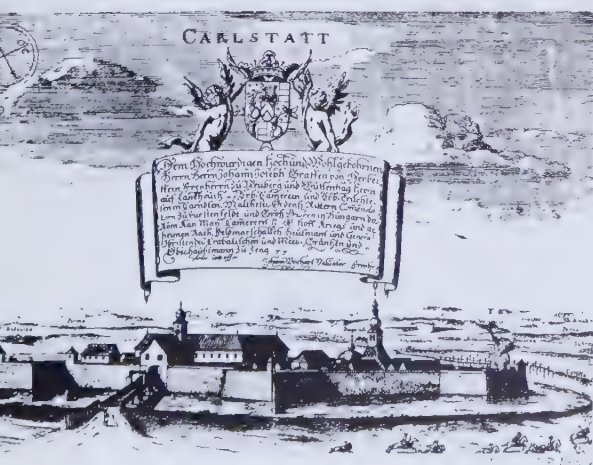


Veliki Tabor, 16th-century castle of the Ratkaj family, ground-plan. The rounded towers were not only functional but very impressive in appearance. The courtyard has arcading with Tuscan columns.



127a.

Karlovac fortress, raised in 1579 for Archduke Charles. Six five-cornered bastions with moats form a six-pointed star enclosing a network of regular streets — the ideal Renaissance citadel. After the Turks' withdrawal, Karlovac became a centre of crafts and commerce on the Zagreb—Rijeka road, and acquired the character of a baroque town.



Tabor, a most unusual irregular oval castle with semi-circular towers and its upper floor projecting on consoles. The courtyard has typical Renaissance round arcades with Tuscan columns on the first and second floors. Mention should also be made of the castles of Čakovec and Trakošćan in the north, the reconstruction of Medvedgrad (architect J. Arkonti, 1574) near Zagreb, and Nehaj fort above Senj (1558) on the Adriatic coast.

But the most important and largest project of a defensive character was undoubtedly the fortress founded by Archduke Karl (Charles) of Styria in 1579. The construction of the fortress of Karlstadt or Karlovac on a strategic site on an estate of the Zrinjski family — surrounded by marshes and bends of the river Korana where it flows into the Kupa — cost 845,000 florins, and was co-financed by almost all European rulers. This "ideal" Renaissance fortified settlement, designed as a regular hexagon with triangular bastions which form a six-pointed star, was built by Matheus Gambon, but it is not known whether he designed it.

Encircled by trenches and moats, Karlovac, though conceived as a fortress and military camp, very soon became a fortified civilian town. Unlike the radial disposition of internal communications adopted fifteen years later at Palmanova in Italy, the best known fortress-town of this type in Europe, Karlovac, within its hexagon, has streets intersecting at right-angles and a rectangular square in the centre. When the threat of war receded, the original wooden houses were replaced by baroque masonry structures, religious and civic buildings were added, and Karlovac grew into an important centre of crafts and trade on the Zagreb—Rijeka road. Later (1886), the trenches and bastions were turned into parks, but the original star shape has been retained down to the present day.

But the coastal region, too, was in constant danger from the Turks, who even captured the fortress of Klis in the immediate hinterland of Split. Evidence of this threat are the fortified villages on the fertile coastal strip between Trogir and Split: the seven *Kašteli* named after the castles of the feudal lords who owned this land. All the *Kašteli* were raised during the 15th and 16th centuries. Although fortifications, towers and city gates were built and restored in almost all the Adriatic towns — the most notable works designed by Michele Sammichele — the major achievements in Dalmatia in this period, from the viewpoint of the Croatian cultural heritage as a whole, were in the field of civil architecture.

In this same 16th century, namely, on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic, the only free part of Croatia, independent of both the Austrian Habsburgs and the Venetian doges, numerous Renaissance summer villas were raised, their architecture totally different from the northern in every respect, from its purpose and formal conception to its method of execution and significance: instead of fortifications as a necessity for survival — country residences, villas, as the supreme expression of freedom and prosperity. Instead of enclosure and confinement, the dominant trend was towards integration with the natural surroundings; in place of the reduction of functions, we find greater variety and complexity.

While the nobleman's keep in the north, like a monastery cloister, was separated by a protected area and enclosed in the heart of the edifice, the Sorkočević villa at Lapad (1521), on the contrary, resembles an "open" cloister freely extending its wings into the surroundings. Two wings of the building open on the ground floor onto a spacious vaulted covered walk with Renaissance arcades facing the fish-pond and formal garden, its straight paths shaded by vine-covered pergolas, and linked by a flight of steps with the long terrace over one wing. The two rear wings of the villa frame the flower garden, from which a flight of steps leads to the open loggia on the upper story. Architecture and cultivated landscape, the interior and outdoor space, are thus multifariously interconnected.

Nor is water an element of separation in the villas on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic, as it is in the moats of the north Croatian fortresses or in the *Kašteli* between Trogir and Split. On the contrary, it





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128.
The Čipiko family mansion in Trogir, 15th century. With its Gothic three-light windows (A. Aleši) and Renaissance portal, this exemplifies the combination of styles found in Dalmatia.

serves as a means of connection: communication with Dubrovnik and neighbouring villas was by sea. The plan of villas was usually L-shaped, the one-story wing with a terrace generally extending to the shore and terminating in a boat-house. In another summer villa of the Sorkočević family, at the head of the inlet named Rijeka dubrovačka, a broad flight of stone steps leads right down to sea level from the terrace in front of the spacious verandah on the upper story, an open invitation to the visitor and a direct link with the surroundings.

True, the whole complex of villa buildings and land claimed from nature for horticulture was in most cases surrounded by a wall, but only occasionally was this decoratively crenellated, perhaps to mislead pirates from a distance. Within the villa complex there was sometimes also a high tower, but this was also a residential structure, like the high towers of the two villas at Sudjuradj on Šipán, with their miniature apartments with built-in cupboards, stone wash-basins and fireplaces.

In the attempt to consider synchronously the history of art in the north and south of Croatia, it should be borne in mind that at the time when the inhabitants of Zagreb's Kaptol, separated from the invading Turkish army only by the river Sava, were raising around the cathedral the inner ring of walls with towers on which Bishop Toma Bakač proudly placed the relief with his cardinal's arms in 1517, the Dubrovnik patrician, Petar Sorkočević, was giving orders for his escutcheon to be carved above the portals, wash-basins, water cisterns and fireplaces of his comfortable villa at Lapad (1518–1521).

The Sorkočević Lapad villa was probably designed by the owner himself, a noted humanist, with the collaboration of the sculptor Petar Petrović, who worked on the Divona, and was built under the direction of Silvio Antunović of Korčula. Although exceptional in itself, it appeared as an individual variant of a series of typical Dubrovnik villas with L-shaped plans which we can trace back, either in records or in the surviving buildings, to the middle of the 15th century (the Rector's Palace on the island of Šipán and a number of villas at Gruž, now a Dubrovnik suburb).

The difference in size and shape of the two wings of these L-shaped villas reflects their different purposes: the higher, roofed wing with an upper story was residential, while the one-story part, covered by a terrace, was used for other household requirements (boat-house, water cisterns, storage). The terrace, however, also served as an extension of the living area, being on the level of the upper floor of the main residential wing. At the end of the terrace (over the boat-house) there is often a roofed, open pavilion (*"pavijun"*) with a stone bench all around. Open galleries (loggias) on the upper floors or arcaded covered walks on ground level are also characteristic of this architecture, as distinct from the typical north Italian Renaissance villa, but with some affinities with south Italian country residences. On the upper floor, two bedrooms lead off each end of the large central hall serving as a living and reception room. The social and cultural purpose of this central area (*"salon"*) is indicated by the presence in some of a musicians' gallery. This lay-out of the Dalmatian nobleman's house was so common that the Venetians in those days had a rhyme about it: *"Quattro stanze, un salon, ze la casa d'un Schiavon"* (Four rooms, one salon, that's the house of a Slav, i. e. Croat).

This asymmetrical type of Dubrovnik villa is, in fact, an adaptation of a type of late Gothic townhouse with a courtyard of the 15th century to the specific conditions of the location on the shore and the high standard of accommodation required by Renaissance man. Within that rich building tradition, the Sorkočević villa is simply the most developed monument. It is not by chance that the date of its construction coincides with the moment of the classical Renaissance in Italy and Europe. Although specific and unique as an entity, with formal features of the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style, this villa should undoubtedly be included among the prominent architec-

tural monuments of the European high Renaissance, to which it belongs in conception, quality and importance.

From this same age dates an outstanding building of the mixed Gothic-Renaissance style in which each of these stylistic components, blended into a harmonious whole, is consciously used in a functional and expressive sense — the Divona in Dubrovnik. The airy classic Renaissance arcading of the ground floor is surmounted by richly decorated Gothic three-light and single openings on the first floor, rectangular Renaissance windows on the second, and on the roof again, Gothic acroteria. It has been suggested that this mixture of styles resulted from two phases of construction (first Gothic, then Renaissance). But the discovery of the building contract in the archives and stylistic and constructional analyses of the building itself have shown that the Divona was built by Petrović, Radivojević and the Andrijićs, according to the plan of the excellent architect Paskoje Miličević, in 1518—1524: in other words, the Gothic and Renaissance features originated at the same time. The same inverse relationship of styles — Renaissance on the ground floor and Gothic on the upper — is common in 16th-century buildings in the mixed style.

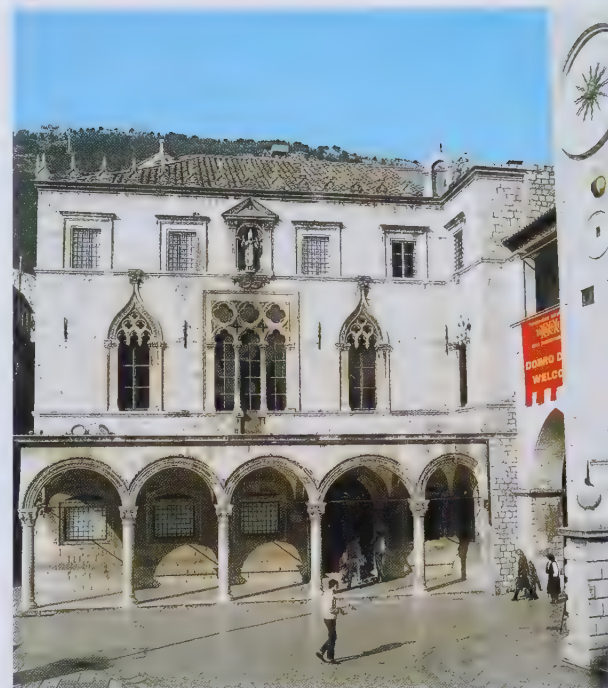
The extremely intensive painting activity in all the Dalmatian cities in the 16th century is confirmed by documents commissioning pictures later lost. Among the fragmentary and fortuitous selection which has come down to us, the work of Nikola Božidarević is outstanding in quality. His four altar retables, painted in a relatively short period — the first and second decades of the 16th century — correspond, despite their stylistic mixture, to the character of art in the transition from early to high Renaissance. Formally his works demonstrate links with the Venetian school (Crivelli), and the central Italian painting circles of Umbria and the Marches.

On the Bundić family triptych (in the Dominican church), with a series of monumental figures, the most interesting feature is the model of the city of Dubrovnik in the hands of its patron, St Blaise (Sveti Vlaho), offering as it does the possibility of comparing the painter's view with the actual architecture. Here, as is often the case in the visual arts, the artist's interpretation of the traditional saintly figures is more mature, but when he "describes" the town from actual observation, Božidarević's manner becomes hard in line and more naive in form.

The hybrid nature of his style is perhaps most apparent in the Annunciation (1513) in the same church. The background landscape with slender trees following the Umbrian school, and the architecture, flat and undecorated, in the manner of Pinturricchi and Perugino, stretch away in perspective into the distance in a translucent haze, while the refined Venetian figures of the Archangel and the Virgin face each other in the foreground, separated by an exquisitely painted blue vase with lilies. However, the oversized figure of God the Father, surrounded by a multitude of seraphim, is squeezed into the centre, detracting from the spaciousness of the sky in the already achieved depth of the landscape (atmospheric perspective).

The climax of Božidarević's artistry is the triptych in the church at Danče (1517). In the controversy between the developed method of painting which integrated the figures in space and the traditional type of polyptych which split the space into segments, the artist's ambivalence is again evident. The monumental figures are painted with mature skill, the costly fabrics glow with refined colour, and a masterly detail confirms the artist's virtuosity (some consider it a self-portrait): the face of a beggar reflected in the gleaming sword-blade of St Martin, a Renaissance knight on horseback. In the predellas — small paintings in a row along the bottom of a polyptych — such as the one of St George slaying the dragon, or in the Crucifixion on the gable, the figures are set convincingly in the landscape, while the finish recalls the picturesque high Renaissance Venetian painting.

The composition of the Baptism of Christ (1509) by Mihajlo Hamzić, now in the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, has not progressed much in relation to Lovro Dobričević's Baptism, as it may appear at first sight and as is



129.

The Divona, the Dubrovnik mint and customs house, designed by Paskoje Miličević and built by local masters (1517—1523) in mixed Gothic-Renaissance style: the ground floor is Renaissance, the first story Gothic, the second Renaissance, and the roof ornaments Gothic again.

129



130.

The ground-floor loggia of the Recotor's Palace, Dubrovnik, was restored by Michelozzi (1463) in Renaissance style, while the upper floor was completed with Gothic two-light windows by local masters — hence the “upside down” effect of the earlier style above the later.

131.

Villa of Petar Sorkočević (1521) at Lapad, Dubrovnik, ground-plan. Achieving the Renaissance ideal of linking man with nature, the asymmetrical building has two wings with arcading opening onto a formal garden with a fish pond, and two onto the flower garden and walk under trellised vines.

132.

VITTORE CARPACCIO: St Martin and the Beggar, late 15th century, detail of a polyptych. Permanent Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art, Zadar. One of the many fine Italian Renaissance works which form part of the Dalmatian artistic heritage.





usually claimed, pointing to the influence of Mantegna on Hamzić's landscape. The similarity with Mantegna is only formal, in the hard modelling of the rocks and schematic interpretation of the linear and atmospheric perspective, but the figures — except for the angels' faces — have a Gothic hardness and the wings are decoratively polychrome.

The Renaissance spirit is negated in the very structure of the picture. There is neither a single viewpoint in perspective nor classic unity of time, for the disproportionately large figures are incompatible with the landscape, which is seen, simultaneously, from another point: above and afar. Hamzić's Baptism has long been included in the Croatian Renaissance heritage because of its morphological and external stylistic features, but the portrait of the young Julian by Lovro Dobričević, although half a century earlier, is of higher artistic quality and essentially a more Renaissance work. In Hamzić's triptych for the Lukarević family (1512), the softer modelling, more harmonious monumental figures of saints, and the landscape partly visible behind them, may be interpreted as Božidarević's influence.

This latter artist's work provides further confirmation that in Dubrovnik painting it was not a matter of organic development of style but primarily of oscillation of the mixed Gothic-Renaissance, early Renaissance and high Renaissance styles. At the start of his career, Božidarević painted a free composition of figures in one space — the typical Renaissance Holy Conversation (the Djordjić altar), whereas at the end he "returned" to the traditional polyptych form.

Vicko Lovrin, son of Lovro Dobričević, painted his polyptych in the Franciscan church at Cavtat in 1510 in a style between the late Gothic conception of Antonio Vivarini and the Renaissance of Bartolomeo. The main figure of the Archangel Michael wearing contemporary armour is convincingly presented as a real body in movement, caught in a complicated pose. But in the predellas Vicko partly turned to late Gothic naturalism, as in the figures of Turks (!) shooting arrows at St Sebastian, for example. This anachronism is typical of the Renaissance method of simulation; the Renaissance poet, Marulić, for instance, was to draw politically topical parallels between Biblical persecutions and martyrs, and contemporary "infidels", i. e. between Christians and Turks.

The painting heritage of the 16th century in Istria and Dalmatia abounds in works by foreign artists. Many were imported from Italy, and some were painted by these artists during their stays of varying duration in Croatia. The majority of the preserved works did not exert much influence



133.

Andrija Medulić: *The Story of Tobias*, mid-16th century. Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb. This painter was one of the many Croatian artists who lived and worked outside his homeland ("Schiavoni"). Medulić belonged to the Venetian school, influenced Tintoretto, and was a follower of Titian and Parmigianino.

on this milieu, though they bear witness to the need for art and the level of artistic culture of the commissioners. Some artists are represented by as many as a dozen works, such as Antonio, Bartolomeo and Alvise Vivarini, or Francesco and Girolamo da Santa Croce. Paintings are also to be found by Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, Titian, Paolo Veronese, Tintoretto, Bassano, Lotto, Bastiani, Palma the Elder and Younger, Parmigianino and others, together with a large number of paintings from their workshops, by their followers and by other minor artists. A few works by French and Spanish artists — Boschetto, who died in Rab, for example — are also located here. Of the foreign artists who settled in Dalmatia, we may mention Piero di Giovanni and Palmieri of Urbino.

More important representatives of the mannerism of the second half of the 16th century in the Dubrovnik region are Santi di Tito, a pupil of Bronzino, who painted for the Dominicans, and Pellegrino Brocardo, who did an altar painting in the cathedral for Pavle Sorkočević in 1568, and frescoes for the villa of the Dubrovnik archbishop, Beccadelli, on the island of Šipan. On Hvar, the writer and organist, M. Benetović, painted scenes of the Passion, in an amateurish fashion, on organs. Zorzi Ventura of Zadar opened a workshop in Koper and in the last decade of his life († 1607) supplied altar paintings for a dozen churches in central Istria. Mannerist compositions and typology of figures (perhaps copied from drawings) were given in his paintings an early Renaissance treatment, resulting in a somewhat bizarre effect close to surrealism.

While mentioning foreigners who worked in Croatian regions, we should not ignore the reverse process: the activity abroad of many Croatian artists whom the Italians called *Schiavoni* (Slavs). The most important among them were Juraj Čulinović in the 15th, and Andrija Medulić and Julije Klović in the 16th century. Although he was born and died in Dalmatia (Skradin 1435 — Šibenik 1505), Čulinović (Giorgio Schiavone) seems to have done all his painting in Padua.

Only three small paintings have been preserved in Croatia (in Split and Zagreb) by the greatest Renaissance painter of Croatian origin, Andrija Medulić (Andrea Meldola, † 1563), an artist who creatively developed the mannerist trends of contemporary Italian art, together with Tintoretto influenced the formation of El Greco, and under the influence of his contemporary, Michelangelo, painted the Last Judgement in the apse of the cathedral of his native Zadar. This interesting fresco was unfortunately destroyed by the clergy in the 18th century because of its "blasphemous" nudes (in Hell?).

The Northern Revival

(17th & 18th centuries)

The most fundamental change in the art of Croatian lands during the baroque centuries is the shift of emphasis: while in the coastal regions a stagnation and even decline in the quality and output of the visual arts was evident in the 17th and 18th centuries, the north, following the terrible devastations of the 15th and 16th centuries, experienced an artistic revival. Warfare was still a permanent way of life and death in northern Croatia even in the 17th century, but the battlefield gradually receded eastward, and the Peace of Sremski Karlovci (near Novi Sad, on the Danube) in 1699 established again a free Slavonia and a new frontier with the Turks. As the economy of northern Croatia recovered, cultural and artistic activities steadily intensified. The Croatian lands were politically divided in the baroque age: the narrow coastal belt from northern Istria to the extreme south of Dalmatia — with the exception of the territory of the free Dubrovnik Republic — was held by Venice, while inland Istria and northern Croatia were firmly locked in the embrace of the Habsburg empire, where they remained — apart from the brief Napoleonic interlude — down to 1918.

Political dependence determined artistic trends: on the coast Venetian influence dominated; in the north, that of Central European art. The culture of the continental hinterland, however, also spread down to the coast, to Rijeka and part of the Croatian Littoral (Hrvatsko Primorje). A particularly important intermediary role was played by Slovenia, richer and more developed, which had been relatively unaffected by Turkish pressure. Here, too, there was an intermingling of Mediterranean and continental influences, which Slovenian artists and craftsmen transmitted to northern Croatia, the Primorje and Istria. A new component was the art brought by Serbian settlers fleeing from the Turks, which continued the Byzantine tradition. Its organic development cut short by Turkish occupation and the conditions imposed by life in emigration, this art took on a new lease of life in this period of greater peace, exploiting the expressive possibilities of the baroque and rococo.

During the 16th century, the population in northern Croatia had drastically declined, and, excluding fortifications, artistic activity virtually ceased. There is consequently almost no mention of Croatian names in connection with early baroque architecture of the 17th century or the arts of that period in general. Architects and builders, sculptors, painters, stucco craftsmen, wood-carvers and other artisans were usually Italians and Austrians, with many Slovenes working with them. Almost uniform baroque forms of Roman origin were brought by foreign artists directly from Italy or were transmitted by Austria, through Styria or Slovenia.

From the stylistic standpoint, the 17th century is still quite heterogeneous. Besides late Renaissance forms in architecture and the persistence of certain Gothic solutions (simple churches with a polygonal or square sanctuary), one must visualise a large number of wooden churches, of which, regrettably, only a few have survived (such as Biševac, Lijevo Štefanki).

The autochthonic achievements, at the same time typically baroque and specifically regional, are not individual works but urban entities or ambiances and groups of monuments, which in sum total amount to a new quality in both town and countryside. In addition to the baroque *châteaux*, which made a twofold impact on their setting — with their actual architecture and by the creation of gardens and parkland around them — many squares and streets were reconstructed or newly laid out in almost all towns; residences of the nobility and public buildings were erected; monuments and statuary multiplied in public places and gardens; abbeys and numerous churches were restored or rebuilt, and lavishly decorated with frescoes and sculpture, pulpits, altars, organs and other artistically ornamented church furnishings.

Baroque buildings make a strong impact on their surroundings, giving an attractive focal point to the area around them. The interconnection of



134.

Church of St John, Jelsa, island of Hvar. While certain forms are medieval (the rose window) or mannerist, the curving façade and lavish decoration adumbrate the baroque.

134





135.

Pulpit of Zagreb cathedral from the workshop of Mihajlo Cussa. In the baroque period, craftsmen from Italy and Slovenia flocked to northern Croatia. Cussa himself was from Kranj. He ordered the statues from Venice, but the name of the sculptor of this baroque marble angel is unknown.

136.

IVAN KOMERSTEINER: Altar of St Emerik's church (1688). Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb. Gilded wooden ("golden") altars are characteristic of the Central European cultural sphere in the 17th century.

internal and external space is achieved in the courtyards of *châteaux* and abbeys by the covered walks with arcading on the ground floor and galleries on the upper stories. The walled areas around churches are likewise arcaded. This interconnection is extended beyond the actual architecture by means of picturesquely laid out roads and paths, with chapels, shrines and pillars serving as landmarks in the countryside, and finally by the planting of shrubs, avenues of trees and parks. In this total impact on the environment, the baroque, despite formal differences, is closest to ancient Rome. It attempts, successfully, to imbue the whole of man's environment with a single spirit: from the design of the huge gardens behind a *château* to the opulent silver tableware.

In the history of European architecture, innovations in structure and form and major changes in style in church architecture often became norms for certain monastic orders, and were applied to a large number of buildings, thus spreading rapidly from the source to the most remote regions. Just as the Benedictines spread early Romanesque architecture in the 11th century, and the Franciscans and Dominicans early Gothic in the 13th, so the Jesuits were responsible for the dispersion of early baroque in the 17th. The Jesuit church epitomises the splendid early baroque architecture by which the Church of Rome gave expression to the triumph of the Counter-Reformation, rebutting the socially critical ideas and rational-ascetic programme of the Reformation. The expansive Jesuit order was entrusted with the propagation of the faith, not by enlightening the common man, as the Gothic mendicant orders had endeavoured to do, but by organising the higher theological education of the nobility and clergy. Consequently, in the baroque period a new type of architectural entity appeared: the Jesuit church with a college attached, intended for the education of the aristocracy. It was from these colleges, together with the seminaries for training priests, that higher education developed.

The new spatial conception was introduced by the Jesuits with the building of large churches modelled on the mother-church of the order, Il Gesù in Rome, designed by Vignola with the façade by G. della Porta. The monumental nave without aisles is flanked by rows of chapels opening onto it and emphasising the unity of the space. It is covered by barrel vaulting, with a dome surmounting the area before the sanctuary. The interior is elaborately articulated with pilasters and a prominent cornice, furnished with magnificent altars, and decorated with stucco-work and frescoes, which give added complexity and the illusion of greater depth to the space. The most important Jesuit projects in the early 17th century are in Zagreb and Rijeka, and at the end of the century in Dubrovnik.

The Jesuit church of St Catherine in Zagreb, begun in 1620, was followed by the church of the Assumption in Varaždin (architect J. Mattota, 1642) and the Franciscan church in the same city (architect P. Rabba of Graz). The same spatial scheme of a nave flanked by three chapels on either side was adopted by H. Allio of Celje for the church of St Anastasia in Samobor (1675), but with the eclectic use of a polygonal Gothic sanctuary with counterforts. However, all these reduced the complexity and mass of the new Jesuit-type church by omitting the dome.

St Catherine's in Zagreb is assumed to have been designed as a standard type project in Rome. This is the most outstanding example of Jesuit architecture in northern Croatia with its elaborate architectural and colouristic treatment of all the wall surfaces, its ornate stucco ceiling by A. Quadria (1721) with frescoed openings revealing the heavenly heights by G. Quaglio, the huge *trompe l'oeil* fresco by A. Jelovšek (1762) behind the altar opening up a deep perspective of painted architecture and landscape, and its six chapels each with two altars, the finest of which is the altar by Francesco Robba.

The mingling of styles in the first half of the 17th century was exemplified by two other Zagreb buildings. The Jesuit college beside St Catherine's, although also designed in Rome or Vienna (1641), is more traditional, late

Renaissance. The long courtyard was surrounded by three two-story wings and a one-story wing facing onto the square — all with simple Renaissance windows. Also late Renaissance was the single bell-tower of the cathedral, on the southern side, raised by I. Albertal (1634—1641). It was divided by belt courses into stories and had a modest two-light aperture for the bells at the top. The same architect was responsible for the Gothic webbed vaulting over the cathedral's sanctuary. Both the vaulting and bell-tower were destroyed during the cathedral's restoration at the end of the 19th century. Recently (1972), the original architectural composition of the Jesuit college was altered during its adaptation as a museum. From the interesting period of the 17th century all that remains in Zagreb is the late Renaissance bell-tower of the church of St Mark in the Gornji Grad quarter, which resembles those of the Franciscan and Jesuit churches in Varaždin, Križevci and Samobor.

A specific regional feature in northern Croatia during the 17th century was the restoration of older churches in baroque style. The addition of a chapel to the north and south sides of the nave of a simple Gothic church with a polygonal apse increased its size and enabled two more altars to be raised. With its greater complexity and dynamism — particularly when the chapels were semi-circular — the new ground-plan corresponded to the basic principles of the baroque, in the same way as the cruciform lay-out, instead of a longitudinal, emphasised the centripetal character of the space (adaptations at Taborsko, Zaječda, Remetinec, Pozorje and elsewhere).

Political circumstances and the growth of interest on the part of the Austrian court and nobility in the Adriatic coast, i.e. Mediterranean trade, led to Rijeka becoming one of the most important communications and economic centres in Croatia in the baroque period. Imposing Jesuit projects in the city were financed not only by the nobility but by the emperor himself. The church of St Vitus (Sveti Vid, 1638—1659) occupies an outstanding place among Croatian monuments, being the first and largest building of centralised type, as well as the first monumental round church to be raised since St Donatus in Zadar. Its form — a low cylinder within which columns define the circular nave and support the dome on a high tambour — could have been inspired by the church of S. Maria della Salute (1630—1656), designed by B. Longhena, the most imposing baroque church in Venice, which, albeit still under construction, was already famous, but the Rijeka church, designed by F. Oliviera, is closer in form and spatial conception to the Palladian classical tradition. The interior is remarkable for its simplicity of form and diffuse lighting, which create a unifying effect.

In addition to the Jesuit church, a college was built in Rijeka, and later (1648) a seminary was added, with a rectangular courtyard surrounded by arcades on the ground floor and two upper stories. The church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1726), in which the use of pilasters and the imposing altar create the illusion of greater depth of the sanctuary, was the work of masters from Ljubljana, while builders from Kranj were responsible for restoring the Franciscan church of Our Lady of Trsat in baroque style. The alterations to this latter church with a cloister were undoubtedly inspired by the Jesuit building works in the city. A large donation for this purpose was made by the Frankopans, on whose territory it was located. As the feudal lords of Rijeka's hinterland, they were obliged to respond to this challenge, but in the accompanying instructions to Father Glavinić they did not omit to criticise Jesuit pomp and the vanity of outward splendour: "No great innovations, for this distracts from devotion!"

In Dalmatia, in consequence of the loss of economic independence by the city communes following the Venetian occupation, and the severance of ties with the hinterland resulting from Turkish expansion, artistic activity was perforce restricted in its scope. Political circumstances made it necessary to shift the emphasis from urban building to defence. The most important building works of the baroque period are the large-scale Vauban-



137.

H. L. ACKERMANN: Angel (1631), gilded wood sculpture. Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb. This once formed part of the main altar of Zagreb cathedral, demolished in 1832, when its statues were dispersed among various churches.

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138.
Church of St Mary of the Snows, Belec, restored in 1739, with the addition of Ranger's frescoes (1740), wooden altars and a pulpit (J. Schokotnig of Graz, 1743), at the expense of the local nobility. Regardless of its small size, this village church is one of the most lavish examples of the dynamic fusion of architecture, sculpture and painting into an organic whole.

139.
St Agatha, N. Grassi, Venetian painter from the first half of the 18th century, the Benedictine Nuns Collection, Trogir. The medieval attribute of martyrdom — the severed breasts — contrasts with the childlike charm and rococo-style daintiness of the young woman who holds them on a silver tray.

140.
FEDERIKO BENKOVIĆ: Abraham's Sacrifice (1716). Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb. One of four compositions painted for Pommersfelden castle. Trained in the Venetian-Bolognese circle, Benković created an individual idiom and influenced Tiepolo and Austrian baroque painting.

type fortifications for artillery defence raised around Šibenik, Split, Zadar, Klis, Knin and elsewhere.

While the output of local sculpture workshops drastically declined, and the quality of carving descended to the level of rusticity, there was a rapid rise in a typical provincial phenomenon: the commissioning of altars of fashionable design and expensive material (multi-coloured marble). These replaced existing stone and wood altars by local masters. Together with altarpieces, paintings and sculptural works in general, they were primarily imported from Venice, but also from Rome and southern Italy.

We should not, however, overlook another trend which might be termed "positive rustification": the fact that the baroque along the Adriatic was the age of monumental building in rural areas. Villages and small towns in the hinterland and on the islands now assumed a more impressive aspect with the spread of urban features and architectural symbols. Large churches and bell-towers, often on an exaggerated scale, were raised as the focal point of settlements, with a few palaces or mansions built nearby.

The artistic activity of the first half of the 17th century in Dalmatia might be defined, according to the structure and approach of many monuments, as mannerism — in its multifarious manifestations — with only an occasional early baroque element. The mannerist spirit is already evident in the 16th century, in the extension to the bell-tower of Hvar cathedral, in its main façade designed in the second quarter of that century and the aisled area built in the 17th century (so that the tripartite façade covers only the nave). Also mannerist is the horizontally extended façade of the parish church of Stari Grad on Hvar, with its coupled flattened pilasters and eclectic use of late Gothic, Renaissance and baroque forms.

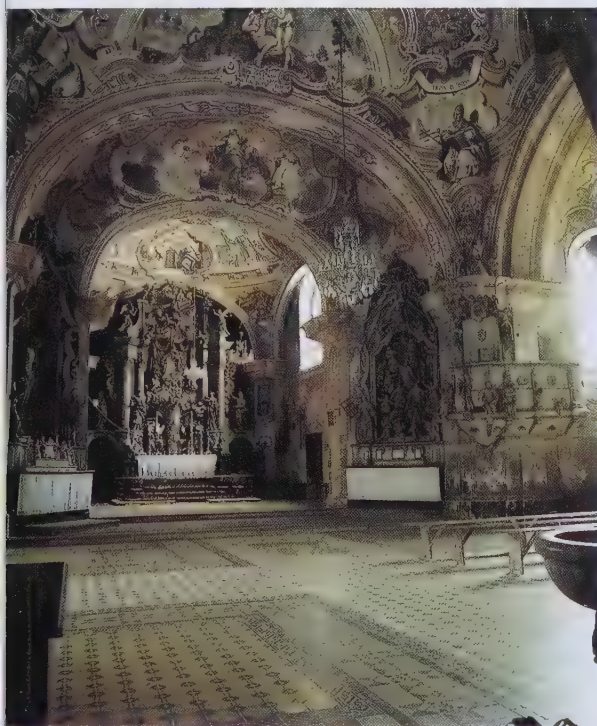
Another mannerist feature is the transposition of forms from one material to another, as illustrated by the imposing stone portal of Omiš parish church (1621), composed and richly ornamented in a fashion typical of the retables of wooden altars. The accumulation of diverse architectural elements gives a pronounced mannerist character to the Foscolo arch, raised (1650) inside the city gates of Korčula. One of the crowning achievements of mannerist architecture in Dalmatia is the small Rozario church in Dubrovnik (built in 1594 and altered in 1642), with its lavishly decorated façade and interior, and fantastic combination of forms.

The early baroque forms of Italian Jesuit architecture appeared in Zagreb, as we have seen, in the second quarter of the 17th century. Almost simultaneously, major Jesuit projects were begun at Kastav and in Rijeka. Extensive baroque building activity took place in Renaissance Dubrovnik, already highly urbanised and built up, but only after the catastrophic earthquake of 1667. Its subsequent renewal transformed the city and, by the quality and scope of the work and the personalities of its creators, gave Dubrovnik once again, for the last time, the supreme place in the Croatian cultural heritage.

A significant role in the baroque restoration of Dubrovnik after the earthquake was played by Italian architects. For the rebuilding of the badly damaged houses along the Placa — the large elongated main square in the form of a street or main street with the function of a square, also known as the Stradun — the Roman engineer G. Cerruti was commissioned by the Council to design a house to serve as a prototype for the other buildings along the northern side of the Placa. The restoration of the Rector's Palace was carried out by F. Cartesio, also from Rome, and then by P. Andreotti. However, the biggest transformation in the architectural and urban sense came with the building of the new cathedral, the Jesuit complex and the church of St Blaise (Sveti Vlaho), which together shaped the whole south-eastern section of the city.

On the high base of the remains of the Romanesque cathedral, a new, broader and longer rectangular building was erected, having two aisles, an inscribed transept and a high dome over the crossing. The historian and poet S. Gradić, who had spent many years in Rome, was made responsible





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141.
Church of St Mary of Jerusalem, Trški Vrh.
The fusion of lavish painted decoration,
sculpture and architecture in the interior,
creating an impression of movement and
splendour, is typical of baroque ensembles.

142.
Church of St Mary of Jerusalem, Trški Vrh.
The walled churchyard with a covered walk
(cinctor) was intended for the reception of
large numbers of pilgrims and crowds of
penitents on the great feast days.

Ground-plan of the church of St Mary of
Jerusalem, Trški Vrh, showing in graphic
form the dynamism of baroque architecture:
the octagonal churchyard surrounded by
colonnades and the flowing contours of the
church itself.

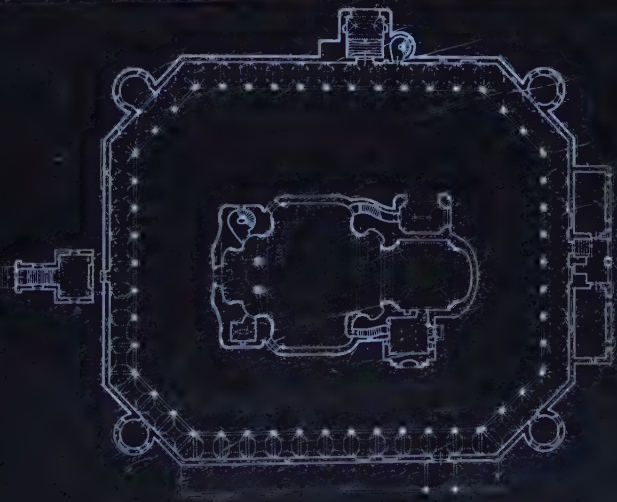
for its construction and played an active role in this, as can be seen from extant manuscripts in which he discussed building problems. He entrusted the design to A. Buffalini, the building work being taken over in 1671 by P. Andreotti, then by T. Napoli and later I. Katičić until its consecration in 1713. The articulation and relief of the façade contrast with the smooth surfaces of the side walls, which have a baroque touch only in the roof zone, where a balustrade and free-standing statues realise the baroque principle of introducing sculpture in space and suggesting depth by emphasising the foreground (the statues in relation to the dome and raised transept).

More developed spatially and more mature in form is the Dubrovnik Jesuit church (1669–1728) designed by Andrea Pozzo, the celebrated builder and painter of Jesuit churches and colleges in Rome (S. Ignazio), Vienna and Belluno, who also designed the cathedral in Ljubljana. Continuity of movement is emphasised by the curve of the apse, where the main body of the church and the altar region merge together. Two massive marble piers divide the concave wall, entirely covered by huge painted canvases resembling an immense triptych, while illusionist frescoes above the prominent cornice create the impression of the limitless expanse of the heavens, peopled with innumerable figures. These frescoes, like the three paintings below, glorify the founder of the Jesuit order, Ignatius Loyola. The apse is one of many examples of the typical baroque artistic entity (*Gesamtkunstwerk*), in which architecture, sculpture and painting are fused into an indissoluble whole. G. Garcia, a Sicilian painter of moderate ability, who had no scruples about borrowing compositions and figures from the work of other artists, nevertheless succeeded in fulfilling his task of giving artistic unity to the sanctuary of the Jesuit church. It is hard to find fault with the lack of clarity or any other formal aspect when bewildering vastness of scale was the ultimate goal of Jesuit painting, and, indeed, of Counter-Reformation baroque art in general.

The main façade of this church is distinguished by the concentration of volume in the central part, while the principle of baroque unity is reflected in the sculpture of an angel above the portal (M. Gropelli), its main value residing in its functional role as an integrating member of the architecture, linking the portal, cornice and gable.

The church of St Blaise, the third large baroque church in Dubrovnik, located at the junction of the city's two main arteries — the Placa, which connects the two main city gates, and the other linking the Divona and cathedral — was built (1705–1715) by the Venetian architect and sculptor M. Gropelli. The architecturally articulated, highly moulded and sculpturally ornamented façade — echoing Longhena's work — is connected with the square by a flight of steps and a raised, stage-like terrace. But the theatricality of the main façade is in marked contrast with the flat surfaces of the other walls of this domed structure, for Gropelli did not exploit the possibilities offered by the location or fulfil the task of embellishing this important intersection with at least two "main" façades.

The completion of the Jesuit complex in Dubrovnik was undertaken by P. Passalacqua, a leading exponent of Roman baroque. With his design for the steps — *skalinada* — (1735), modelled on the recently completed (1726) Spanish Steps in Rome, he created a flowing composition of convex-concave lines. This architectural-spatial link between the lower and upper parts of the town is a typically baroque setting conveying the impression of depth, articulated with balustrades and rhythmical breaks in the flights. The culminating point is the portal with a high attic and clock on the otherwise austere college building. By skilfully incorporating his additions into the existing ambience, linking up transversal streets and connecting the existing square and the newly-formed space in front of the Jesuit buildings, Passalacqua created the most impressive urban baroque ensemble on the eastern Adriatic coast. This work in the first quarter of the 18th century completed the transformation of the south-east area of the city centre, giving it the baroque character it has retained to this day.





143.

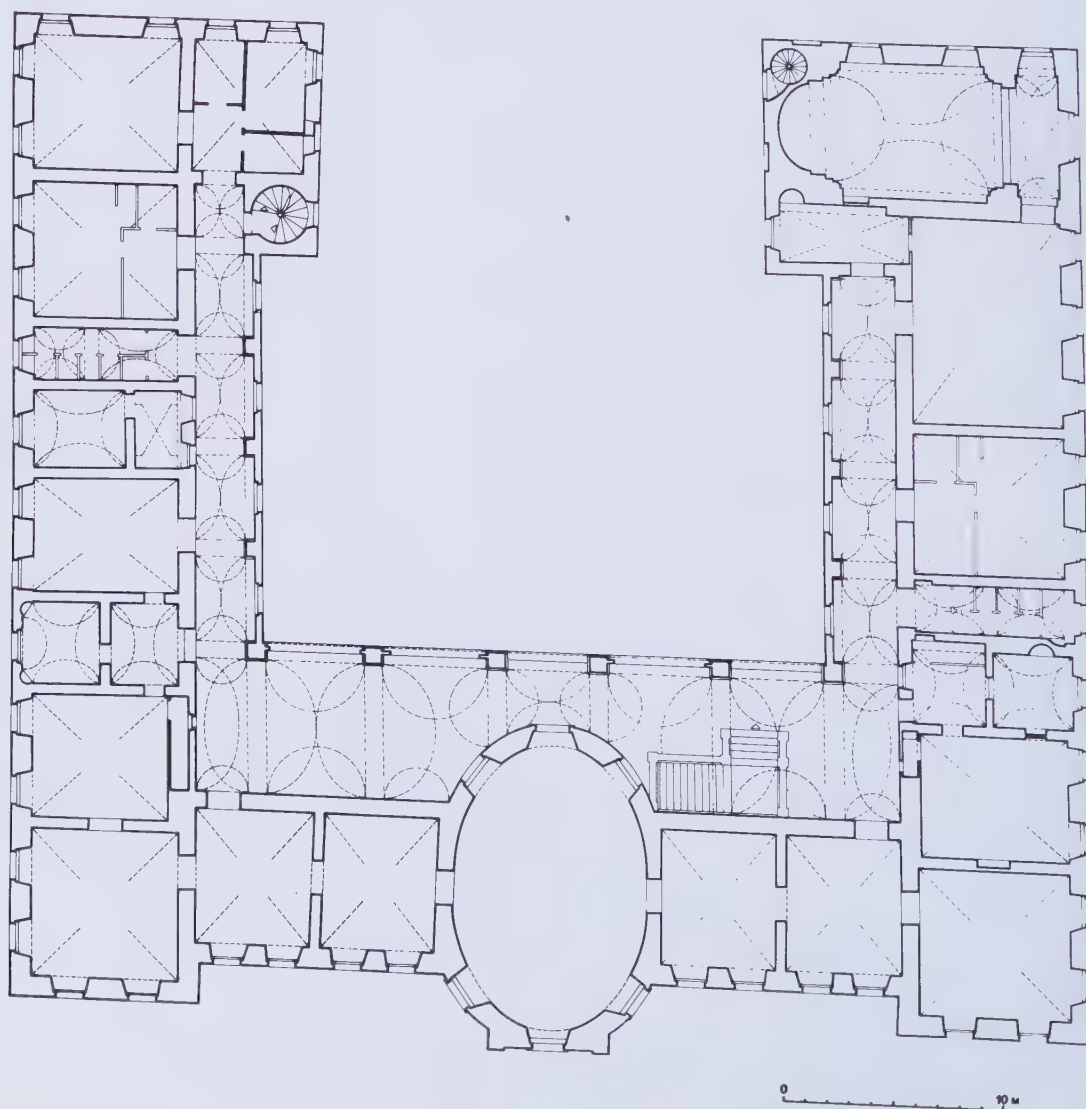
Mythological Heaven, late 18th century, picture on the ceiling of the main salon in the château of Donje Orosavlje. Figures of Greco-Roman gods and heroes (Mercury, Hercules) float in the cold radiance of late baroque classicism.

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Painting in the coastal region in the third decade of the 17th century bears the stamp of the Venetian Palma Giovane (+1628) and his successors. Following Titian with his restrained synthesis of early Renaissance, mannerist and early baroque elements, Palma became extremely popular and produced a large number of works in his studio. More than twenty, the majority signed and dated, have been preserved in Croatia, the best being located in Bribir, Trogir, Drid and Split.

Most critical attention has been paid to the large and high-quality Last Supper in the refectory of the Franciscan monastery in Hvar, which has been ascribed not only to Palma Giovane or his studio, but to his followers (M. Ingoli) and various other artists. The painting of the Last Supper in Poreč, also traditionally attributed to him, has a structurally different composition, in which architecture plays a more prominent role. A member of Palma's circle, Baldassare d'Anna, of Flemish origin, painted altarpieces in Hum, Oprtalj, Cres, Pag and Trogir, and as many as four on Hvar. In fact, the majority of his reliably ascribed works are to be found in Dalmatia, where a number of other painters of Venetian origin left most or a significant portion of their opus.

The most important local artist of the 17th century in Dalmatia, Matej Ponzon-Pončun, also came from Palma's circle. A pupil of Perandio, he was probably born on the island of Rab (1584). At the beginning of the century he painted mythological scenes in the Pico palace at Mirandolà, and in the thirties, when at the height of his powers, he spent some time in Split and worked for a number of Dalmatian churches. His best pictures, in the choir of Split cathedral and smaller works on Čiovo and Korčula, are distinguished by exceptional picturesqueness and freedom, and mannerist use of colour and light effects.



Gornja Bistra, château of Krsta II Oršić (1774), has a developed baroque type of U ground-plan. The large oval main hall projects from the façade and rises the entire height of the building.

While Venetian painting was dominant in Dalmatia and Istria, in the Dubrovnik region, with its trade links with Ancona and Naples, Rome and Sicily, painters from central and southern Italy were more to the fore. Besides the works of G. Garcia, a pupil of Solimena of Naples, and A. Vaccaro, mention should be made of the fine altarpiece on Lastovo by G. Lanfranco, a pupil of Carracci, with the monumental figures of Cosmas and Damian in flowing cloaks falling in great folds.

Another important local painter, active in Dalmatia at the turn of the century, is Tripo Kokolja of Kotor. His masterpiece is the cycle of paintings in the church of Our Lady of the Rocks (Gospa od Škrpjela) on an isle off Perast in the Gulf of Kotor, in which he combines the experience of late Renaissance and early baroque Venetian painting in a mannerist fashion. His last work (1713) is to be found below the choir of the Dominican church at Bol on the island of Brač. Beside the apotheosis of St Dominic and other saints, gesturing grandly, surrounded by groups of small angels, baskets of flowers appear, somewhat bizarrely linking late mannerism with the coming rococo.

Undoubtedly the most important baroque painter of Dalmatian origin is Federiko Benković, who studied under Cignani in Bologna, learnt from Crespi and probably Piazzetta, and influenced the young Tiepolo. In 1716 he was commissioned to paint two Old Testament and two mythological compositions for Pommersfelden castle. Two paintings of bold diagonal composition, distinguished by synthetic treatment of figures and drapery and effective lighting, are still in the castle, one has been lost, while Abraham's Sacrifice in the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb is ascribed to Benković and this cycle. However, the possibility that this exquisite painting is the work of G. Piazzetta has been given serious consideration.

In 1733 Benković stayed in Würzburg, where he painted a series of bold diagonal compositions in lighter colours. The figures with expressive faces and gestures are swathed in monumental cloaks and bathed in ethereal light. In Vienna Benković influenced A. Maulpertsch, later one of the leading Austrian baroque painters, and also P. Troger. A picture of St Francis in Split is also ascribed to him.

The rapidly growing prosperity in northern Croatia during the 18th century resulted in the creation of ensembles of pure baroque character not only in newly-founded towns like Bjelovar, but also in those that underwent reconstruction, such as Osijek and Slavonska Požega. Perhaps Vukovar is today the Croatian city richest in architectural monuments of the highest quality imbued with the baroque spirit. Besides rows of houses with picturesque arcades, from the third to the last decade of the 18th century Vukovar acquired, in turn, the parish church, the Franciscan monastery, the chapel of St Roche and the Eltz palace complex with a park by the Danube. The main square of Slavonska Požega is likewise an ensemble of high architectural quality. Varaždin is another city that attained a unified aspect in this century, in keeping with its leading role as a cultural and political centre: it was the seat of the Royal Council, which was moved to Zagreb only in 1776, after a disastrous fire in the town.

In the baroque period there was still a marked difference in the size of towns in the north and south of Croatia. While Varaždin had 5,000 inhabitants and Zagreb 7,000, Split already had 12,000, and Dubrovnik, the largest Croatian city at that time, 20,000 — in other words, three or four times the size of the northern towns.

In the war-devastated, newly-liberated region of Slavonia, new towns were raised. Bjelovar is the best preserved example of a military planned town, with an orthogonal system of streets and rectangular blocks of houses, and a large central square. The new town was founded in 1756 and some fifty buildings for military use, from barracks and storehouses to officers' accommodation, were immediately erected. But within twenty years it had developed into a normal town in which crafts and commerce and a civilian population were predominant. On the main square, the Catholic



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144.

IVAN RANGER: Angel Musicians (1750), fresco on the ceiling of the church of St George, Purga. A representative of Pauline, Tyrolean illusionist painting, Ranger imparted an impressive appearance to the small village church, but also rococo lightness and gaiety.

145.

Lužnica, a three-wing baroque château 18th century, with cylindrical corner towers and a taller central section with a balcony facing the park.

146.

Winged château of the Odeschalchi family at Ilok, with arcading and galleries on all three floors. Restored in the 18th and 19th centuries, this is one of the largest stately homes in Croatia.

147.

Portrait of a Physician from the Ferrari Family with a Skull, oil painting. 18th century. National Museum, Zadar. The oval frame (see also Fig. 138) reflects the dynamic baroque view of the world, replacing the Renaissance tondo, just as Newton's ellipses replaced Copernicus' circles.





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148.

Church (1594) and Orthodox monastery (1777) at Krndija near Orahovica, testimony of Serbian migration to Croatia to escape the Turks. While preserving the Serbian medieval tradition (Morava-style architecture and Byzantine painting), the settlers also accepted the artistic trends of their new environment — the baroque and rococo.

149.

Varaždin town hall, a 16th-century Renaissance-style building restored in 1793 in the transitional late baroque-classicist style.

church of St Theresa (1763) and the Orthodox church of the Holy Spirit (1792) were raised opposite each other, but differently aligned. Following the edict of tolerance issued by Emperor Joseph II (1781), Orthodox churches were regularly built alongside the Catholic in the towns of the Military Zone (Vojna Krajina), so that two tall bell-towers on the main square became equally characteristic of the old cities such as Karlovac, Vinkovci and Petrinja, as of the newly founded towns like Nova Gradiška (begun somewhat before Bjelovar).

Beside the towns, old fortifications were repaired and extended, as at Stara Gradiška, or new ones constructed, as at Slavonski Brod, which acquired a vast Vauban system of fortifications. For strategic reasons, regulations prescribed that the civilian settlement beneath it was to consist entirely of wooden houses. On the site of Osijek, razed by fire, a massive fortress was erected, designed by the military engineer Maximilian de Gosseau (1712–1721). This enclosed a small settlement with a regularly shaped square and an irregular network of streets. At some distance from this Tvrdja ("fort") — as this part of the town was to be called — the Upper Town (Gornja Varoš), Lower Town (Donji Grad) and Retfala quarters of the future Osijek gradually developed.

A typical baroque addition to the urban setting is the public monument in the form of a pillar surmounted by a statue. The most impressive of these are the "plague pillars", raised in gratitude after the passing of an epidemic, in Osijek (1730, extended in 1784) and Slavenska Požega (1749, the work of S. Graniči). Both are complex group compositions with the Holy Trinity on top and four saints, protectors against the plague, on consoles around the base. A similar composition of figures, but with St Florian, protector against fire, was raised at Legrad (1753), and a series of statues of individual saints on high pedestals was placed in the park at Koprivnica. Unfortunately, many pillars with sculpture have been destroyed or removed (as at Lepoglava, or the four sculptures ornamenting the main square of Bjelovar), but they can still be found in Prelog, Osijek, Zagreb and some other places. The outstanding quality of some sculpture testifies to the activity of foreign masters, for example, the statue of St Jerome in Čakovec park (V. Kröniger, 1766).

What is remarkable is the unprecedented intensity of building in northern Croatia in the 18th century, where some fifty churches were raised in each decade. At the beginning of the century we have a series of high baroque church façades with pilasters and cornices, statues placed in niches, and lavish use of stucco decoration. The finest example is the façade of the Pauline church in Lepoglava (1710), its vertical proportions corresponding to the Gothic form of the older church. The baroque façade of the Gothic Pauline church at Remete near Zagreb (1722) and of the church at Sveti Petar u Šumi (1770) in Istria are of similar type. A new façade variant was introduced on the Ursuline church in Varaždin (1726), where the high gable conceals both the roof and the lower part of the bell-tower surmounting the vestibule.

The dynamic movement of the baroque is eloquently illustrated by a number of smaller 18th-century churches, with the curving lines of their ground-plans, convex-concave walls and illusionist painting. They include the Pauline church of St Jerome at Štrigova (1749), with two bell-towers, a dome and a tripartite sanctuary, and the church of St George (Sveti Juraj) at Lepoglavska Purga, with the lively lines of its ground-plan, a dome over the nave, a shallow cupola over the apse, and a tower in the middle of the façade. Both painted with consummate mastery by I. Ranger and embellished with sumptuous baroque altars, these are perfect examples, in miniature, of the baroque synthesis of the visual arts and the integrating effect of lighting.

A large dome with a lantern was introduced by the Jesuits in their church of St Francis Xavier (1752) in Zagreb. Besides its undulating façade, a notable feature is the flight of steps leading up to it, with sculptures of



Calvary and an avenue of trees. Another 18th-century variant of the façade, showing the influence of secular architecture, is found on the church of St Michael (Sveti Mihovil) in Osijek, which has regularly spaced large windows ranged on two "stories", as in a palace.

The most complete, dynamic and picturesque baroque sacral complex in Croatia is perhaps the church of St Mary of Jerusalem with its arcaded courtyard (cincture) at Trški Vrh near Krapina (1750). Its ground-plan follows lively concave-convex lines. From without, the round towers with metal onion domes at four corners of the octagonal courtyard suggest a fortification, but inside colonnades of segmented arches and a painted ambulatory surround the space needed for the congregation of large numbers of pilgrims.

The church of St George on the Hill (Sveti Juraj na bregu, 1750) at Lopatinec likewise has a girdle wall with corner towers, and a voluted gable (1779). A cincture is also a feature of churches in the Hrvatsko Zagorje region — at Belec, Marija Gorska, Vinagora, Marija Bistrica, Ludbreg and Komin (where a covered walk runs the length of the courtyard wall on the outside as well).

Of Viennese rococo origin, the church of St Mary Magdalene at Sela near Sisak (1765) achieves a maximum complexity: the ground-plan is an elongated oval with a vestibule flanked by towers placed transversally, and a sanctuary with rounded corners. The convexity of the domed central section and of the façade counterpoints the concavity of the sides of the slender bell-towers. The church of St Theresa in Slavonska Požega also has an interesting convex façade.

Although it originated by the typical addition of two side chapels (1741) to an older aisleless structure with a polygonal apse, the church of St Mary of the Snows (Sveta Marija Snježna) at Belec provides an outstanding example of the illusionist painted baroque interior, sumptuously furnished with altars and pulpit. Painting and sculpture effected a perfect transformation of the interior in the baroque spirit, for the vast main altar, inundated with sculpture, completely swallows up the apse and becomes an area in itself, while the side altars fill the corners between the apse and the nave, rising to the ceiling and turning the interior of the rectangular nave into a curving oval space.

The appearance of classicism at the end of the 18th century meant the return to the longitudinal type of church. This transition is marked, among other things, by the shift of emphasis from the walls — the main focus of baroque expression — to columns. In its spatial disposition, the church of St Mary Laurentanska near Vrbovec (1795) is a typical example: it reverted to a simple elongated ground-plan with a semi-circular apse, but the nave and the apse each have four piers or columns which support the dome and the vault respectively.

Wooden village churches and chapels, of which some forty have been preserved, form a separate chapter of the baroque. From records it can be concluded that many have vanished and that formerly they were a much more common feature of the landscape in northern Croatia with its abundant forests and timber. Even in the 18th century these retained traditional forms, having a polygonal apse or, more rarely, semi-circular (as in the Orthodox church at Donja Kovačica, which also has a painted barrel ceiling). They are covered with shingle, which on the onion domes of the bell-towers was once painted red. The interior of these churches is more baroque in character with polychrome wooden altars and painted pictures and walls, as at Lijevi Štefanki, Goljak-Bencetić and Velika Mlaka.

Some thirty abbeys were built during the 18th century in northern Croatia. Until the middle of the century they were constructed according to plans from Ljubljana or by masters from Slovenia, as was the Franciscan abbey with four wings and a cloister at Jastrebarsko, or the one-wing type — the more modern baroque "open" form — at Kostajnica. Also worthy of

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Interior of the abbey church at Sveti Petar u Šumi near Pazin, renovated in baroque style in the 18th century.

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note are the monasteries at Vukovar and in the fortress at Ilok, and the large abbey with a typical arcaded cloister with pilasters at Našice.

The most imposing is the baroque cloister at Slavonski Brod, its arcades of segmented arches supported by sturdy round columns with stone benches neatly fitted in between them. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Serbian Orthodox monasteries were also raised in Slavonia: at Orahovica, Pakra, Komogovina and Gomirje.

Every epoch in the history of art, in addition to its distinctive morphological features, has its dominant subjects which contribute to our understanding of the fundamental characteristics of the age. In baroque architecture this is undoubtedly the *château* or palace with a formal garden. The thirty or so baroque palaces of the Croatian nobility that are still extant testify to this building activity.

In the first half of the 18th century, a number of older Renaissance palaces of the closed type with four wings round a courtyard, such as Novi Dvori belonging to the Zrinjski family at Čakovec, Kaptol and Cernik Požeški, and some medieval castles, such as Ozalj, underwent alterations. At Novi Dvori (renovated by the Viennese architect A. E. Martinelli, from the circle of Fischer von Erlach, 1743), the baroque features are the use of pilasters rising through two stories (the colossal order) and the more prominent portal surmounted by a balcony serving as a connecting member. Particularly characteristic are the additions to the ground story, replacing the front wall of the courtyard, at Miljana belonging to the Ratkaj family: the central clock-tower and projecting portal reflect the baroque desire to create an impression of depth by stressing the foreground (visually, the palace is in the background).

The *château* at Gornja Bedekovčina (1750), the work of a Styrian master (like the Polskava palace), is of simple shape, but with the typical baroque roof construction of the same height as the actual building. With its spacious entrance hall, rising the height of two floors (at the back) and its main hall (salon) on the upper floor (at the front), from which rooms lead off on either side, this is the prototype of the one-wing Zagorje *châteaux* of the second half of the 18th century. However, the new high baroque type of palace, modelled on Versailles, is the three-wing building with an open U-shaped ground-plan, set in a park.

The earliest three-wing *château* is Zajezda (after 1740), with a covered walk on the ground floor facing the courtyard, which is enclosed on the fourth side by a wall with an impressive gateway. The most perfect example of the new spatial concept (the equivalent in secular architecture of the mentioned church at Sela) is the Oršić palace at Bistra Gornja (1773), which opens on the inner side towards the park, whose original design has been preserved, while the main façade, articulated by projecting bays, is approached along an avenue of hornbeams. The nucleus of the building is emphasised by the oval salon, which projects from the surface of the façade and rises above the level of the one-story building, encroaching into the roof. The curving lines of the portal, architectural decoration and spatial conception of differentiated functions betray the influence of Viennese rococo (J. Munggenast).

Another impressive example also showing this influence, the Janković palace at Daruvar, has a richly articulated and vivacious main façade and broken roof line, while the interior, typical of the baroque two-wing building, has a splendid staircase leading to the salon on the upper floor. Other notable examples of the three-wing open type are the Vojković *château* at Donje Oroszlavlje, Lužnica and Brezovica. In its location, Eltz in Vukovar is typical of a town palace: its rear faces the street, while the main façade overlooks its park and the Danube. One of the largest baroque structures is the two-story Odeschalchi palace in Ilok (1793, altered in the 19th century), approached by an imposing flight of steps, with three tiers of arcading on the central section of the façade looking onto the courtyard.



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151.

A. LERCHINGER: Adam and Eve in Paradise (1787), church of St John the Baptist, Zagreb. In this late rococo interpretation, the scene of Paradise, far from warning the viewer of the Original Sin, suggests an idyllic "return to nature".

152.

Chasuble, embroidered vestment for the celebration of Mass, 18th century. Treasury of Zagreb cathedral.

153.

Embroidered cloth with scenes of The Passion, 17th century, workshop of Bishop Petretić. Treasury of Zagreb cathedral. The relief of the embroidered forms has a baroque fullness.



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154.

Main square of Tvrđja, Osijek, wholly baroque in style, with a plague pillar in the centre (1720) and fountains (1761). The baroque buildings around it include the Main Guardhouse with a clock tower (1730) and the regional government building (1737).

Towards the end of the century, features adumbrating classicism appeared. A monument of the transitional phase is the Pejačević palace at Virovitica (architect N. Roth, 1800—1804) consisting of one wing with a flat and spacious balcony raised on sixteen columns as a new architectural member. Columns are also a feature of the entrance hall. Unfortunately, the organic unity of all these residential buildings has been much impaired not only by the loss of the original appearance of the interiors — their frescoes, wall-paper, tapestries, furniture and other decorative objects — but also by the disappearance of the surrounding gardens and landscaped countryside designed to complement them. Often all that remains of the latter is the occasional ancient tree, and the only preserved examples of garden sculpture are the Satyr and Flora of the Vojković *château* at Donje Orosavlje.

Wooden buildings form a separate group in domestic as well as church architecture. These are the wooden priest's houses, once numerous, of which only a score or so have been preserved. Until the middle of the 18th century, such dwellings were usually constructed of wood. In their lay-out they resemble the one-wing *château* with a vestibule at the back and a large central room — called the "*palača*" — on the upper floor front. The household altar, also upstairs, is usually in the form of a built-in cupboard or, more rarely, a projecting small chapel like a bay (Donje Škarićevo). The exterior is enlivened by a porch. The shingle roof is sometimes, as in baroque stone or brick buildings, the same height as the house.

The spread of baroque illusionist painting in northern Croatia was stimulated by the Jesuit projects. Quaglio painted the ceiling of St Catherine's in Zagreb (1721), after his work on Ljubljana cathedral, and B. Gruber, under his influence, the Jesuit church in Varaždin.

But the finest painting is found in Pauline churches, thanks to Ivan Ranger, a highly prolific and inventive artist. Born in the Tyrol, he achieved a unique synthesis of Italian illusionism in the Pozzo manner and Austrian baroque painting. Between 1731 and 1752 he created a huge opus in north-western Croatia: at Lepoglava, Gorica and Purga, then at Belec, Štrigova, Kamenica, Varaždin (the pharmacist's), Križevci, Krapina and Remete. His fertile imagination devised original solutions for complex iconographic tasks: from Gorica, where he painted the cycle of "the fifteen holy Johns" and his first independent landscape, to his supreme achievement, in terms of totality of effect and the illusion of banishing all bounds between the real and imaginary, in the church of St Mary of the Snows at Belec.

Fresh colours and light translucent masses also distinguish his illusionist frescoes at Olimlje in neighbouring Styria. Working in Lepoglava church, he decorated the sanctuary with two elongated compositions of Christ in the Temple (as a boy and when driving out the moneylenders) with dramatic movement and the suggestive illusion of dematerialised bodies floating in a bright space.

At Štrigova he painted the apotheosis of St Jerome — believed to be a native of the place (Stridon) — a typical baroque triumphal procession with angels and saints "circling" the octagonal tambour. A supreme synthesis of the baroque period is the church at Purga, where Ranger transformed the dome into celestial space with the apotheosis of St George in the clouds, surrounded by angels and rococo vases of flowers. In the same church he painted an illusionist view into the oratory with a genre scene of an elderly Pauline and a peasant, and in the apse created his boldest composition: the knight George on horseback lancing the dragon "behind the altar". In this way he combined two baroque elements: the illusion of depth and the absence of clarity, for the key section of the picture is hidden from the viewer, who can discover it only by walking round.

The frescoes in the church of St Mary at Remete near Zagreb with forty-seven scenes of miraculous deliverance from various dangers and accidents, in fact, genre scenes from contemporary life, are attributed to Ranger's last period, although they differ in their more concise modelling and a certain naivety they display.

Of the numerous 18th-century painted retables on the wall behind the altar, mention should be made of one by the Slovenian baroque painter, Franc Jelovšek, in the church of St Mary in Samobor, where around the relatively small altar (1752) a lively scene of the Virgin's Assumption above an empty tomb is deeply set in painted architecture. Also notable is the retable executed ten years later by his son, Andrej Jelovšek, in St Catherine's in Zagreb, where the entire wall behind the altar is given depth by a huge painted architectural backdrop of colonnades, concave walls and arcading, peopled with figures (among them a self-portrait of the artist).

In the churches painted in the second half of the century, the works of finest quality are the wall and ceiling paintings by A. Lechringer, a representative of Styrian baroque, in the church of St Mary of Jerusalem at Trški Vrh (1772). The realistically painted architecture and stucco-work and the allegorical and symbolic scenes are executed with greater firmness and hardness of line than Ranger's work. The same artist, it would seem, worked in the church of St John the Baptist (Sveti Ivan Krstitelj) at Nova Ves near Zagreb. Rococo ornamental frames with flowers surround the light, ethereal and gay allegorical paintings of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, personified by noble ladies, in the church of the Three Holy Kings (Sveta Tri Kralja) at Komin.

A number of *châteaux* and countryhouses of the nobility have to a greater or lesser extent preserved their wall paintings with allegorical and mythological subjects (Lobor, Ludbreg, Oroslavlje). The finest rococo scenes from the second half of the 18th century, following the traditional iconography of the four seasons, the zodiac and the humours of man, in the Miljana palace, are ascribed to Lechringer. Also of outstanding quality are the illusionist frescoes of architecture, sculpture and painted windows through which landscapes are visible, preserved in the palace at Bistra, while the most interesting are the allegories of the four continents at Gornja Stubica (local painters).

Scenes of battles in the Seven Years' War in the Drašković *château* at Brezovica (1776), set in typically rococo, deep, radiant landscapes, are almost contemporary "reports" of events which took place only fifteen or so years before, and thus have the value of authentic historical testimony.

Apart from a series of portraits of members of noble and landowning families, now mainly kept in museums (except at Trakošćan), painting still primarily served the requirements of the Church. Most pictures were commissioned for altar retables or monastery refectories. Marked individualists among the painters of the period are the Austrian V. Metzinger, an eclectic stylist but an artist of considerable quality, whose large opus of several hundred works is distinguished by characteristic chiaroscuro, and the Slovenes F. Bergant and A. Cebej (Zagreb, Kutjevo).

The dynamic and vivacious baroque sculpture is also closely linked with the altar. In the 17th century, wooden "golden" altars predominated, while the most important early baroque sculptures are those of H. Ackermann (1632) and the huge winged altar of I. Kommersteiner (1688) in Zagreb. The development of marble altar sculpture in the 18th century was mainly in the hands of artists of Italian origin or training, such as F. Robba, A. Michelazzi, F. Rottman. Fine altars are to be found in the church at Sveti Petar u Šumi, but the highest quality is attained in the works of Francesco Robba, an original artist active in Slovenia in the first half of the 18th century. Combining some late mannerist and high baroque elements, and exploiting the possibilities of the early baroque, with Bernini-esque use of flowing drapery as the primary means of expression, Robba's statues are characterised by the broken surfaces that are the signature of this artist. Several of the early sculptures and the last work of this creative artist, whose monumental fountain dominates the square in front of Ljubljana's town hall, were formerly to be found in Zagreb. The only one remaining today is the altar of St Catherine's (1729), the others having been dispersed following the restoration and purification of the Gothic cathedral at the end

155.

Plague pillar (1730), Osijek. The elaborate base has four statues emphasising the foreground in typical baroque fashion, so as to heighten the impression of distance of the main group on top of the pillar.





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156.

Château of the Eltz family in Vukovar (1790). Set in a park and facing the Danube, it illustrates well the close interconnection of baroque architecture with its surroundings.

157.

Palace of the Patačić family (1764), Varaždin, with lavish rococo stucco decoration on the façade.

158.

Interior of the church of St Mary, Zadar. The curving lines of the balcony and cornice of the matroneum date from the baroque restoration (1744) of the early Romanesque church (columns, capitals), extended in the Renaissance period (the first pair of capitals which provided the model for the rest executed in stucco). The vestibule is by S. Planić (1968).



FRANC JELOVŠEK: The Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1752), wall painting in the church of St Mary, Samobor. Illusionist deepening of the space behind the altar by large-scale architecture, typical of Jesuit painting, provides a frame for the dynamic scene of the Assumption.

Church of St Blaise (Vlaho) in Dubrovnik (1706–1715). Mario Gropelli contributed equally to the architecture and sculpture of this building in the spirit of Venetian baroque. Although a centralised church with a dome, its dominant feature is its main façade, resembling a theatrical backdrop for an open-air stage.

of the 19th century (Sisak, Varaždin, Križevci). Robba's last work, the altar of the church of the Holy Cross (1756) at Križevci, is structurally loose, with no architectural members, only a convex-concave scrolled frame, within which the crucified Christ, with a fluttering loincloth, softly modelled in white marble, hovers before black marble suggesting a heavy curtain.

The importation of baroque marble altars from Italy made by specialised masters — “marble-workers”, “altar-makers” — and from their workshops in Istria and Dalmatia meant not simply the replacement of local stone altars by imported ones, but also, very often, the destruction of formerly harmonious church interiors by the introduction of excessively large, over-decorated, polychrome altars. Churches had been altered and extended in all the previous centuries too, but thanks to a feeling for measure and proportion, modesty and simplicity of form, they usually retained the harmonious character of the interior, emphasised by the use of local building stone — as can be seen today, for example, in number of churches which have preserved their Renaissance stone altars on the island of Brač.

Among the many interiors spoilt by the addition of baroque altars, we shall mention, in view of the value and importance of the original monument, just one antique and one Renaissance example. Diocletian's mausoleum in Split, used as the cathedral, had undergone various additions and alterations over the centuries (doors in the 13th, a pulpit in the 14th, two sculptural altars with ciboria in the 15th century, etc.), but it was not until the baroque age that one side of the octagon was pulled down and a rectangular sanctuary, plastered on the outside, was built on to it. This violated both the exterior, previously entirely of stone, and the originally centralised space of the interior, essentially altering its significance. A fine altar by G. Morleiter in the Venetian rococo spirit and valuable pictures by M. Pončun could not compensate for this.

The second example is the chapel of Nikola Firentinac in Trogir, the most classical of Renaissance structures in Dalmatia, built entirely of stone in the 15th century. Here the interior was made crowded by the raising of a polychrome altar (imported from Venice in 1664) overburdened with huge white marble angels (1738). Moreover, the piercing of four windows in the original niches broke the continuity of the row of monumental sculptures, while the strong light destroyed the atmosphere of the mausoleum chapel, previously dimly lit by a series of high-set ocular apertures.

Less damage was suffered by the large empty spaces of the early Gothic churches of the preaching orders, where the addition of baroque altars, while changing their character, could not undermine the original conception of a single hall — as can be seen in the Minorite church in Dubrovnik, where as many as six altars by G. Sardi of Venice were added (1686).

Some baroque altars, however, deserve to be evaluated as individual works of high artistic quality. Outstanding among altar sculpture is the work of F. Cabianca, active in Dalmatia from 1668 to 1708. He created the altar with two exquisite angels in the Franciscan church in Dubrovnik, and then established a workshop in Kotor, where he produced a series of altars for various churches.

Sculpture of truly baroque verve, extended in space, adorns the altar by A. Tagliapietro from the first half of the 18th century in the Zadar church of St Grisogonus (Sveti Krševan). The already mentioned Venetian architect and sculptor M. Gropelli, a manysided artist who designed the Dubrovnik church of St Blaise (Sveti Vlaho, 1706–1715), carved the portal sculpture, the statues surmounting the façade and the main altar. At the end of the period, P. Onegha, also from Venice, executed the late baroque altar at Makarska; his altar in Zadar (1806) already marks the transition to classicism.

A number of fine altars by unknown artists are found in Rab, Šibenik and Dubrovnik cathedrals (the last an exceptional example of northern







161.

Church of St Peter in the Wood (*Sveti Petar u Šumi*) near Pazin (1755). The elongated façade of this church belonging to a large Pauline abbey is enlivened by niches with sculptures.

162.

FRANCESCO ROBBA: Abraham's Sacrifice (1756), marble altar of the Holy Cross in the church of the Holy Cross, Križevci. The last work of this artist, it is notable for its baroque dynamism, inventive composition and masterful execution, with the characteristic flat, broken folds of drapery unique to Robba.

baroque, 1758), Orebić (classicist) and Viganj on the Pelješac peninsula (fantastically decorated in the *barocco di Lecce* style of Apulia). Though less important than in the north, baroque wooden sculpture also attained a high level: the Pietà of All Saints' church in Korčula (from the Austrian circle of G. R. Donner) or the "golden" altar in the church of Stari Pag.

Among the numerous baroque crucifixes in Dalmatia, the best is the one by G. Piazzetta in Stari Grad on Hvar, with its effectively modelled body and flowing drapery. In the first half of the 18th century, a notable local artist, F. Bakotić from Kaštel-Gomilica, specialised in wooden crucifixes, combining late Gothic and baroque elements and naturalism with the popular wood-carving tradition. Six of his crucifixes have been preserved in the Split area. Later he carved several more in Umbria.

The large Manger at Komiza may serve as an illustration of the numerous lost groups of wooden figures, modelled on the Neapolitan tradition, which represented Biblical and allegorical scenes in a popular manner. Finally, apart from stucco-work and frescoes, the interior of baroque churches was often decorated with a gilded and polychrome wooden coffered ceiling, a number of which have survived (St Euphemia's on Rab, three in Šibenik, etc.).

In church architecture in Istria, the largest baroque project was the aisled church of St Euphemia in Rovinj (G. Dozzi, 1736). Poised as it is on a hill-top, almost its entire height is visible above the picturesque tiled roofs of the town. The campanile, modelled on the tower of St Mark's in Venice, is of earlier date (1680), and the exterior of the church was not completed until the 19th century. In the baroque period Pula cathedral was also given a new façade and bell-tower, and large churches were built in some smaller places, for example, Vodnjan parish church with its harmonious façade and the imposing parish church with a dome over the sanctuary at Buzet, occupying a dominant position at the top of this hill town.

The paintings on the walls of the Buzet church, arranged in two tiers, already give it a severe classicist order. It was designed under the influence of the Venetian architect G. Massari, as was the group of churches without aisles in the same area: at Umag, Buje, Grožnjan and Završje (1730—1790). On the territory of the county of Paziņ, the most important baroque monument is the abbey church at Sveti Petar u Šumi, with large windows and sculptures on a façade compressed and elongated like that of the Lepoglava church.

Secular baroque building in Istrian towns follows the architecture of Sansovino and Sammicheli. From the middle of the century, classicism appears alongside Central European "Maria Theresan" baroque. Besides the large estates with a few imposing buildings, such as the 18th-century Franković-Vlačić residence at Dubrava, a feature of the north-western Istrian coast is the country villa by the sea, influenced by the architecture of Trieste. The most developed is the Dajla complex of the Counts Grisoni near Novigrad: between two late baroque buildings a third with a severe classicist façade was raised. But unlike the Dubrovnik summer villas, which were functionally and ingeniously connected with the sea, in the architecture of these seaside mansions no concession seems to be made to the natural setting: they are simply imposing buildings which might have been erected anywhere. The exterior form is dictated by the desire to impress instead of functional considerations.

On the Croatian Littoral, the tradition of Renaissance castles continued into the baroque age, as can be seen from the old castle of the Zrinjski in Kraljevica with two courtyards and simple arcading, or Nova Kraljevica with Ionic and Corinthian colonnades, the influence of Slovenian masters. Town loggias show a baroque feeling for setting: their size increased and colonnading became more developed (Labin, Motovun, Višnjan). Sometimes, the water cistern became the gathering place of the settlement, providing with its large raised surface a stage-like platform that satisfied the baroque taste for theatricality.



THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

From Classicism to Symbolism

If we were to select crucial historic events that marked the true boundaries of the 19th century in Croatia, these might be the Napoleonic conquest and the First World War or, broader still, the fall of the Republic of Venice (1797) and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1918). In the arts, however, this age extends from classicism to the Secession, excluding the beginning of the 20th century, which brought a series of qualitative changes.

Although brief, the Napoleonic interval had far-reaching consequences, for the spread of the ideas of the French bourgeois revolution inspired national movements throughout Europe. Croatia was no exception. The founding of the Illyrian Province (State of Slavinska) in 1809 terminated four centuries of Venetian rule over the eastern Adriatic coast, to be replaced from 1815 on by a hundred years of Austrian domination. As a result, the northern and southern Croatian territories found themselves within the frontiers of the same state, a fact which aided their cultural unification. The abolition of the Dubrovnik Republic in 1808 marked, symbolically, the end of Adriatic cultural leadership and indicated, in drastic fashion, that henceforth the focus of Croatian political, intellectual, cultural and artistic life would be in the north. The 19th-century movement for national awakening and independence, the Croatian national rebirth, and the movement for South Slav unification were of the greatest significance from the cultural-historical standpoint.

A typical feature of 19th-century Europe is the concentration of economic might and of the entire cultural and political life in the metropolis. In Croatia this role was assumed by Zagreb. Still smaller than Dubrovnik or Split in the baroque age, by the beginning of the 19th century it had grown eightfold (to about 80,000 inhabitants), accounting for one third of the total population of northern Croatia. Thanks to this concentration, it became paramount in all fields of social life, including the arts. The finest artistic achievements of this period — from horticultural and urban-planning projects to monumental figurative compositions and portrait miniatures — are to be found in this city.

Croatian art of the 19th century developed in the same direction as the arts elsewhere in Europe. As in neighbouring Austria, Italy or Hungary, the main stylistic phases or cultural periods, from classicism and Empire through romanticism, realism and historicism to symbolism and the Secession, pervaded artistic life in turn, succeeding one another at similar intervals. Croatian art should be seen as falling within the Central European cultural orbit. In painting, for instance, it lacked the heroic bourgeois art of a Gericault or a Delacroix. Instead, the romantic epoch was shaped by the ideology and artistic culture of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, which we may term, with a fair degree of precision, Viennese Biedermeier culture.

The entire 19th century in central and eastern Europe was dominated by the Viennese cultural circle, this being the era of Austria's greatest prosperity and expansion. Vienna was not only the metropolis of the imperial territories, but the rival of Paris for European cultural supremacy. It was not until the turn of the century that Croatian artists, freeing themselves from this dependence, began going to Munich, Prague and Paris to study, instead of Vienna.

In this age, however, there were no Croatian works of art of exceptional quality or originality that may be considered a distinctive contribution to European art, as was the case, as we have seen, in the medieval and Renaissance periods. Nevertheless, taking Zagreb alone, in the course of the 19th century a number of works were created that undoubtedly attained the highest European standard: the Jurjaves-Maksimir "English" park — a splendid example of the horticultural aspirations of romanticism, opened in 1843 as the first public park in south-east Europe; the noble Palladian Januševac palace close to Zagreb and the Biedermeier Illyrian Hall in the Gornji Grad (Upper Town); the laying out of Zagreb's Donji Grad (Lower Town) in the third quarter of the century with a connected series of nine

163.

Theatre in the town of Hvar. On the upper floor of the "arsenal" (large boat house) the first municipal theatre was opened in 1612. It was restored in neo-classical style in the early 19th century.

164.

Curtain of the old theatre on Mark's Square, Zagreb, opened in 1834 (architects C. and A. Cagnolini). Inside the fan — a common accessory of the theatregoer at that time — a romantic scene by V. Karas of a fairy, an old gusle-player and his grandson.





165

165.
Drašković palace in the Upper Town, Zagreb. The classicist vestibule (1830) with massive Ionic columns and a prominent architrave is Palladian in spirit. The building is ascribed to the Zagreb architect Bartol Felbinger.

166.
ANTOINE JEAN GROS: Portrait of Mme Recamier. Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb (gift of the Marquis de Piennes). The work of this French painter (†1835), a pupil of Davide, marked a transition towards romanticism.

squares, green areas in which notable buildings for cultural purposes were erected; the municipal cemetery of Mirogoj (H. Bollé, 1883) with half a kilometre of neo-Renaissance colonnading with cupolas, the “crown of the city” and one of the largest historicist undertakings in Europe; the building of the Department for Religious Observances and Education (H. Bollé, 1895), an outstanding example of historicist synthesis, in which almost all Croatian painters, sculptors and applied artists of note participated.

But however much its art kept pace with European trends, it should not be forgotten that Croatia still bordered on the Turks in Bosnia, which was to be occupied by Austria in its eastward expansion in the last quarter of the century (1876). In consequence of its modest economic circumstances, Croatia’s urban development was plagued by none of the problems arising from the pressure of industrial construction and the rapid growth of traffic experienced in the more developed countries. Here, instead of an industrial revolution, there was a slow evolution, which was to quicken somewhat only in the last two decades of the century. The towns were thus able to draw selectively on the experience of contemporary European urban growth, free from the undesirable consequences of development — from traffic chaos and uncontrolled building to pollution. This was reflected, above all, in horticulture.

A phenomenon equally common in both north and south parts of Croatia was the demolition of medieval and Renaissance town gates, walls and towers and baroque fortifications. This was motivated less by urban expansion and the volume of traffic, which was still slight, than by sanitary considerations (elimination of damp, more sunlight). Moats and trenches were turned into lawns, bastions were laid out as gardens with paths and benches, becoming part of the public parks and greenery. City fortifications were laid out in this manner in Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Karlovac, Osijek, Varaždin and elsewhere. In Zagreb, the south and north promenades were constructed alongside the walls of the Upper Town, and at the foot of fortified Kaptol the bishop’s fish-ponds were drained and turned into an English park, according to the design of the Viennese architect Klingspögl (1830).

But the largest horticultural project in Croatia was the transformation of the episcopal wood of Jurjaves into a huge public park — Maksimir. Begun in the classicist spirit for Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovec (hence its name) as a French park with a great avenue (1812), it was continued and completed in the spirit of romanticism as an English landscaped garden (designed by P. Riedl) with hillocks and picturesque clumps of trees, lakes, winding paths and ornamental sculpture, but with classicist architecture: a summer villa, belvedere and numerous pavilions by the architect F. Schücht.

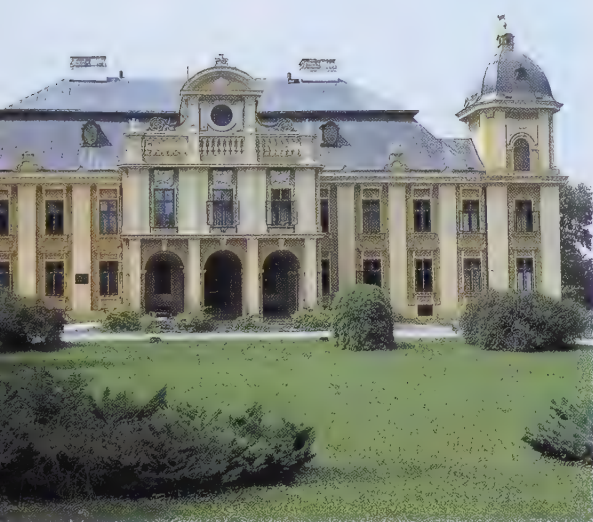
Besides many smaller parks and private gardens, and the transformation of Tuškanac wood into a public walk, the most important from the urban-planning standpoint was the mentioned regulation of the Lower Town (1865–1887) with a series of tree-lined squares arranged in a U-shape (“Lenuzzi’s horseshoe”, named after the chief engineer in the public works department at that time), with flower-beds, benches, a pavilion for promenade concerts (a metal construction), fountains and sculptures. In the middle of each square there is a public building: to the east — the neo-Renaissance Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (F. Schmidt, 1884) and the Art Pavilion (1898, a prefabricated metal structure with a domed glass roof transported from the Croatian pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest), and to the west — the building of the Kolo choral society and Hrvatski sokol physical culture society (1883), the Croatian National Theatre (Helmer and Fellner, 1895) and the University Library (R. Lubinsky, 1912), while the botanical gardens extend to the south.

Thus, in a planned fashion, the entire Lower Town was encircled by a green belt, something achieved in a number of other cities (Lucca, the Ring in Vienna) by the transformation of fortifications into parks. This project differs, however, in being the product not of subsequent adaptation of









167—168.

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VJEKOSLAV KARAS: Portraits of Mijo and Ana Krešić (1852—1856). *Modern Gallery, Zagreb.* At the transition of the Biedermeier style into realism, Karas was the first and most powerful portrait painter of bourgeois society in Croatia, as can be seen from the psychological characterisation of this couple from Karlovac.

169.

Residence of the Counts Pejačević at Našice, early 19th century. This late baroque château displays some classicist features.

useless fortifications to contemporary purposes, i. e. practical need, but of a conscious decision and rational planning.

In fact, these well-proportioned squares with their abundant greenery, carefully conceived scale and location — the dense foliage of the botanical gardens to the south at the same time separates the residential area from the railway lines — compared with the crisis of urban land usage faced by many European cities in the last century, demonstrate that economic backwardness is not always a complete handicap. In the cultural and artistic history of a nation it can sometimes be an advantage. With its many avenues of trees in the busy streets of the Lower Town and the natural woodland on the slopes of Mt. Sljeme to the north, Zagreb has remained one of the more fortunate cities in the relationship of built-up and green areas, architecture and parks.

As Zagreb was to Croatia as a whole, several towns became centres in their regions thanks to the concentration of industry, commerce or the administration, while a considerable number of medium-sized and small towns stagnated, never expanding beyond the borders reached in the baroque age. The most important industrial and communications centre on the Croatian Littoral was Rijeka (connected by the first railway to the sea in 1873), while Pula served as the main port of the imperial navy in Istria. Other towns which also developed considerably were Zadar, the administrative centre of Dalmatia, Split and Šibenik on the coast, and in the north, Sisak, Varaždin and a number of Slavonian towns, such as Vinkovci, Slavonski Brod and Osijek.

This urban growth was naturally accompanied by much architectural activity. In Split, the Law Courts (Prokurative, modelled on the Procuratie in Venice) were raised. In Rijeka, foreign investment and architects were responsible for the huge historicist buildings, on an exaggerated scale, of the Directorate of the Adria Steamship Company, the Naval Academy and the Governor's Palace (A. Hauszman). Classicism bequeathed the city the harmonious theatre by L. Adamić (1805), but the Popularity of the theatre and size of audiences grew so rapidly in the 19th century that in 1855 another, neo-baroque, building was erected, designed by Helmer and Fellner, Austrian specialists in theatre building. In Zagreb, too, only fifty years or so had elapsed after the opening of the first theatre before a second, a large neo-baroque edifice, was built in the Lower Town. Other cities — Osijek (1866), Varaždin (1873), Split, Zadar, etc. — also acquired theatres.

Three imposing monuments of historicist church architecture became landmarks of the towns in which they were built: the neo-Gothic brick cathedral in Osijek (1849), the neo-Romanesque Djakovo cathedral (K. Roesner, F. Schmidt, 1866—1882, with frescoes according to the cartoons of Overbeck and the Nazarenes A. and L. Seitz) and the neo-Gothic reconstruction of Zagreb cathedral with a glittering roof and two towers 105 metres high (H. Bollé, 1880—1902).

The architecture of the 19th century may be divided into two periods differing in style and conception: classicist and Biedermeier up to the middle of the century, and historicist in the latter half, with the predominance of neo-Renaissance and, at the end of the century, eclecticism. Some classicist projects connected with the French occupation of Dalmatia were built in Split, Trogir, and Zadar (the Rector's Palace, F. Zavorović, 1806; the archbishop's palace, 1832). Other classicist structures are the baths complex at the spa of Stubičke Toplice (Vesteburg, 1814) and the regional government building (Palača županije) in Osijek (J. Hild, 1846).

In the architecture of Zagreb of the classicist-Biedermeier period, the work of B. Felbinger (between 1815 and 1840) was pre-eminent, while in the historicist era at the end of the century H. Bollé, also of Viennese provenance, was the dominant figure. In the first half of the century, a number of classicist architects were active in the city, but the majority were visiting foreigners who left only one or two works. Of the local architects, the most talented was A. Brdarić.

It is not surprising that the name of B. Felbinger, the most active Zagreb architect, with some thirty documented works, has come to overshadow all others. The only projects with marked Empire features are Felbinger's designs for the decoration of the city to welcome Emperor Francis II in 1818. All eight designs, and particularly the façade to screen the dilapidated and unimposing town hall, indicate what Zagreb might have looked like had there been funds for the actual realisation of these projects. Similarly, the classicist design for a theatre in Split by V. Andrić at the beginning of the 19th century remained on the drawing-board.

Felbinger adapted in the classicist and Biedermeier style a number of older buildings (the addition of a porch to the Drašković palace) and ground stories for shops, and built a series of townhouses and the little town hall in the pretty small town of Samobor (with a tympanum and a balcony with Empire-style iron railings). Also ascribed to him are the noble Januševac *château* in Palladian style with a round salon and dome, and the classicist three-wing palace of Karlo Drašković, but there is no evidence to prove this. The latter was purchased by supporters of the Illyrian movement (1834), and its main salon used for musical entertainments and gatherings by various cultural institutions which played an important role in the Croatian national rebirth — hence the name Illyrian Hall given to the whole building. Taken as a whole, Felbinger's architecture is modest in scale. Its value lies in its harmonious proportions and restrained decoration, which in his classicist works is confined to pilasters and stucco-work around the windows, while his Biedermeier façades are articulated with shallow niches flanking windows with semi-circular lunettes, as can be seen on a number of houses in the Upper Town and Felbinger's own house, one of the first of the two-story buildings (1828) which transformed the former fairground of the Lower Town into the main square (now Republic Square) of the new city of Zagreb, united officially only in 1851.

With unprecedented speed, numerous houses and public buildings of sound construction and good taste were raised in the Lower Town from 1860 to 1900. Prominent among their architects are the local builders J. Jambrišak and the Grahor family (each with a hundred works, mostly in neo-Renaissance style), K. Weidman, who combined stone and brick to colourful effect, and a number of others, including F. Klein, notable for the high quality of his projects, who was active in Zagreb for thirty years. Within the traditional repertoire of domestic architecture, he endeavoured to achieve individuality in the composition of façades. An original work is Klein's neo-Renaissance two-story house (1876), richly articulated and decorated with sculptures, whose convex façade forms a smooth and urbanistically important link in the street which descends from the Upper to the Lower Town. The interior has rooms of trapezoidal shape.

However, the value of historicist Zagreb resides, perhaps, in its "unity in diversity", with houses not exceeding moderate height, mostly two-story. All these façades in different historical styles are carefully executed backdrops of a permanent open street theatre for the passer-by. The same concern for the inhabitants and observers of the city is shown in the creation of the mentioned squares, areas intended for social intercourse and gatherings or for just resting on a bench.

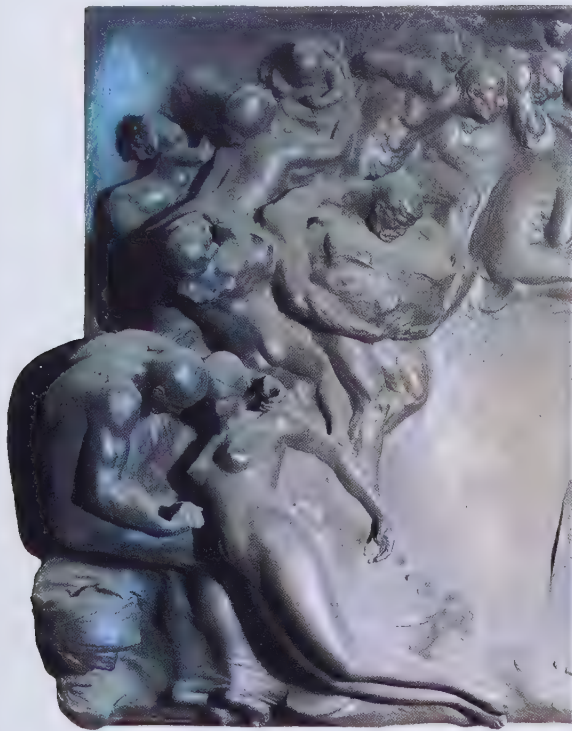
Outstanding among the public buildings is the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, designed by the Viennese architect F. Schmidt (1884) in Tuscan Renaissance style, with a three-tiered arcaded atrium under a glass roof, a sign of the new metal constructions of the 19th century. The railway station building, also with a glass dome (F. Pfaff, 1892), terminated on the south side the eastern string of squares. The Crafts School and Museum of Arts and Crafts in German Renaissance style (H. Bollé, 1891), another important architectural work, testifies at the same time to a new attitude towards crafts and an attempt to revive them. Similarly, the new cash-commodity relationship is reflected in the huge residential and business block (architect J. Vancas, 1899–1901), occupying three streets, with



170.

Trakošćan, castle of the Drašković family, built in the 16th century and reconstructed in 1855 in neo-Gothic style. Its site on a hill beside a lake set amidst parkland evokes a romantic nostalgia for bygone times.

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171

171.
R. FRANGEŠ-MIHANOVIĆ: *Allegory of Philosophy* (1895), relief in the Golden Hall, no. 10 Opatička St, Zagreb. Despite the large number of figures, the composition has a feeling of unity.

172.
CELESTIN MEDOVIĆ: *Heather* (1911). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. A single colour tone is used for the heather in the foreground and the hills with clouds behind, in this landscape of the Pelješac peninsula painted in impressionist technique.

173.
VLAHO BUKOVAC: *Gundulić's Dream* (1895). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. The studio realism of the left side of the painting and livelier, daylight colours and freer technique of the right exemplify the two aspects of the work of this painter, who exerted a decisive influence on the freer painting and brighter palette of the younger generation of artists of the so-called "colourful school" in Zagreb.

ground-floor shops, a diagonally intersecting passageway for shopping purposes, and a central octagonal area with banks covered by a glass dome.

A characteristic 20th-century innovation is the emphasis of corner buildings with towers or rounded contours surmounted by cupolas, and the addition of metal cupolas to roofs for monumental effect.

Another phenomenon is the construction of villas on the outskirts of the city, particularly in the wooded foothills of Mt. Sljeme (J. Jambrišak, the Okrugljak villa, 1875). These made use in late romantic fashion of traditional wood-carving and timber incorporated in historicist architecture. The interior lay-out sacrificed impressiveness in favour of bourgeois comfort, the logical interconnection of rooms, differentiated according to function, with balconies, covered terraces and verandahs. In the second half of the 19th century, these villas took the place of imposing townhouses and palaces, since most of the city was now occupied by rented apartment blocks and houses to let, office buildings, often of exaggerate proportions, for institutions and commerce, and — a sign of the times and the shift to a capitalist economy — merchant and savings banks. The vast Vancaš building, the Octagon, symbolised in this respect the demise of the old and the birth of the new century.

Towards the end of the century, metal constructions were used not only for industrial plants but also for supporting the wider span of ground-floor shop windows (K. Weidman). Reinforced concrete likewise came into use in the same period, first for utilitarian buildings and military barracks. With the wider and more up-to-date application of glass and metal, the secessionist style of architecture began to spread.

Heralding the new age, the century ended with polemics on the Secession — the first in the history of art criticism in Croatia, but, of course, quite typical of the last century. In his pamphlet *Anarchy* (1898), the musicologist F. Kuhač, with provincial fervour, charged artists with engaging in anti-national activities and spreading "alien" influences, while in his essay *The Secession*, the journalist I. Pilar provided a soberly-worded and methodical defence of modern art from the contemporary viewpoint.

Like the other branches of the fine arts in 19th-century Croatia, painting scarcely maintained a thin thread of continuity until the very end of the century, when there was a sudden upsurge in the number of artists and works, and also in their quality. The classicist period is represented by portraits with hard modelling, conventional poses and a cold, polished finish. The most prominent artists are F. Lieder in Slavonia, with a group portrait of the Pejačević family, the excellent portraitist C. Reggio († 1813) in Dubrovnik, and in Split, J. Pavlović, with some thirty portraits imbued with a romantic note, and the "naive" painter A. Barač with his self-portraits: one of himself as a lieutenant on horseback, and another with his children weeping over his wife's grave.

Marked Empire features are found in the work of Harrlein of Karlovac in the first two decades. Portrait miniatures were popular in the first half of the century, introduced as a fashionable novelty by itinerant artists of Viennese provenance: the expansion of the circle of people who commissioned or bought paintings (the new bourgeois class) was reflected, in the first place, in a reduction in their size.

Besides Austrians, two Slovenes, M. Stroy (in Zagreb from 1830 to 1842) and M. Brodnik (1814–1845), were prominent in the era of bourgeois romanticism in Croatia, painting portraits of the leading personalities of the Croatian national rebirth and Illyrian movement. In this period there were many itinerant artists, and landscapes were painted not only from artistic motives but also for strategic reasons, being commissioned by the military authorities! Even so, the watercolour landscapes by F. Jaschke of the countryside along the frontier between Croatia and Bosnia (then still under Turkey) are mature works of high quality. The Zadar painters F. Salghetti-Drioli (the teacher of V. Karas) and Ivan Skvarčina followed Italian academic historicism in their figural scenes.







Golden Hall of the former Department for Religious Observances and Education (1895), no. 10 Opatička St, Zagreb. The most complete work of historicism in Croatia, its architect was Hermann Bollé, while its decoration was entrusted to the most eminent Croatian artists of the time: the painters Iveković, Medović, Tišov, Čikoš-Sesija and Bukovac, and the sculptor Frangeš-Mihanović.

RUDOLF VALDEC: Portrait of the Literary Critic Lunaček, early 20th century. Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Trained in Vienna and Munich, Valdec, a representative of symbolism and the Secession, managed to capture the lifelike expression of the subjects in his picturesquely treated busts.



Realism was gradually to develop from classicist technique, but directed towards drawing "according to nature", fostered in the so-called "drawing schools" that were founded in Austria at the end of the 18th century to improve the standard of technical draftsmanship. Most noteworthy among the six such schools in northern Croatia is the one in Osijek, with its continuity from F. C. Hötendorf († 1841), the classicist landscape painter, through the romanticism of his son to the realism of Waldinger († 1904). This school was connected with Zagreb through J. Mücke, the teacher of F. Quiquerez, the first realist painter of landscapes.

Then, at the height of bourgeois romanticism, the "first Croatian painter", Vjekoslav Karas, appeared. As a result of the pressures of historical circumstances and his environment, his career, begun with typical romantic enthusiasm, ended tragically in suicide. Through public subscription, the "generous support" of "patriots", this "local boy" was sent from little Karlovac in 1838 to study painting in Italy (mainly Rome and Florence). There he adopted the academic refinement of the Nazarenes — Roman Lady with a Lute — only to be confronted on his return (1848) with a public that regarded painting as a mere craft: besides portraits he was commissioned to paint signboards and guild flags. He was sent travelling around Bosnia for a year to paint landscapes and fortifications, and also did a portrait of Omer-Pasha Latas.

But the most productive were his last years (1852—1856), spent working in Karlovac and Zagreb, when he produced a dozen excellent portraits. Although a few are in the hard Biedermeier manner (Lopašić), and others have a romantic picturesqueness and lighter touch (Duquesnoy), Karas was, in effect, the founder of Croatian realism. It is hard to find in the whole of the 19th century portraits which are more deserving of this classification than his. The most successful in epitomising the spirit of the bourgeoisie in the small provincial towns of Croatia at that time are his portraits of a married couple named Krešić from Karlovac. But similar to these — with lively expressions and a scarcely discernible smile on pursed lips — are the portraits of the soap manufacturer Spitzner with his wife, a married couple named Dadić, the parish priest Brigljević and a portrait of a boy, which has a picturesque quality closest to the Duquesnoy painting. The bizarre portrait of Josefina Barac, with one blind eye, and his last, Girl with a Doll (1857), reveal the disturbed and anxious state of mind of this artist, whose opus reflects all three styles of the epoch: classicism, Biedermeier and realism.

It is typical of European painting in this age dominated by academism and historicism that artists often painted in two ways. This dualism can be seen, on the one hand, in the carefully finished works of "embellished realism" (as Lj. Babić described it) intended for the public, and, on the other, in the freer, more direct "unfinished" pictures conveying an immediate impression, especially landscapes done as studies or sketches. This is best illustrated by the opus of F. Quiquerez or N. Mašić. Artists specialising in particular types of landscape — M. C. Crnčić in seascapes, F. Kovačević in Sava river scenes — also appeared at this time.

In the last decade of the century, Vlaho Bukovac returned from Paris to Zagreb (1893), and abandoned the academicism of Cabanel for the impressionist, divisionist method. He gathered young artists around him, and influenced many of them to adopt a fresher, more resonant palette — giving rise to the concept of Zagreb's "colourful" school. In opposition to the historicist orientation of the Society of Arts led by Iso Kršnjavi, the group of young painters around Bukovac formed the Society of Croatian Artists (1897), in collaboration with young writers of the Croatian Modern movement, whose rallying point was the magazine *Život* (Life). The new attitude to the artist's vocation was to find its ultimate expression in the founding of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1908.

A specific cultural-historical phenomenon of the 19th century was,

indeed, the foundation of a series of cultural, artistic and scientific institutions and their accommodation in new buildings concentrated, almost exclusively, in Zagreb: the University (1869–1874), the Croatian Music Institute (F. Klein, 1874), the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (founded 1860, building by F. Schmidt, 1884), the Museum of Arts and Crafts (H. Bollé, 1889), the Ethnographic Museum (V. Bastl, 1902), and others.

In 1878, the first Department for the History of Art and Archaeology in Yugoslavia was formed (by Kršnjavi) in the Philosophy (Arts) Faculty of Zagreb University, and art criticism began to be published. An important event, highly characteristic of the period, was the “presentation to the nation” (1864) by J. J. Strossmayer, Bishop of Djakovo, of his rich collection of Renaissance and baroque paintings, subsequently placed on public display (1884) in the new building of the Yugoslav Academy. Apart from its cultural-historical significance, the opening of the Strossmayer Gallery in the 19th century reflected the stylistic preferences of the epoch of historicism, its nostalgic admiration for the past and emulation of the “old” masters (it was originally named the Gallery of Old Masters).

A real symbol of late historicism, an important event by European standards as a synthesis of the arts at the end of the 19th century, is the building of the Department for Religious Observances and Education, also designed according to the conception of I. Kršnjavi, that ubiquitous moving force in cultural events of the *fin-de-siècle*. By reconstructing a baroque palace, the architect H. Bollé created (1895) a series of rooms in different styles: a Pompeian room, a neo-Renaissance room panelled with wood, the large neo-baroque Golden Hall (Zlatna Dvorana). To carry out the systematically devised iconographic programme of the wall decoration, painting and sculpture, Kršnjavi engaged the painters Medović, Bukovac, Iveković, Tišov and Čikoš, the sculptor Frangeš-Mihanović, and numerous masters of the artistic crafts. The building of no. 10 Opatička St. is thus an anthology of works and a cross-section of the arts in Croatia at the end of the century.

The best known are the historicist interpretations of Croatian historical subjects in the Golden Hall. The huge wall paintings by C. Medović and O. Iveković of romantically naive and theatrical scenes: The Coming of the Croats, The Split Church Assembly (with King Tomislav, 10th century), reproduced in the form of oleographs, together with compositions showing national heroes such as Zrinjski's Farewell and Matija Gubec, were to become “popular art” and images of historical events for the common man, similar to Tischbein's pictures in Austria or those of P. Jovanović and U. Predić in Serbia. The narrative, descriptive manner of Medović's The Split Church Assembly (held in the cathedral in the 10th century), abounding in naive anachronisms such as Gothic candlesticks, Renaissance altars and baroque Jesuit robes, or Iveković's The Compact of the Croatian Nobility with the Hungarian King Koloman (1102) gives them a resemblance to our modern strip cartoons.

In contrast, there is the exceptional artistic quality of Čikoš' The Conversion of the Croats, in which limpid colours and post-impressionist gaiety give the historical event a festive atmosphere. Čikoš' series of paintings in the Renaissance room (1898), literary allegories, illustrations of Dante and Shakespeare, are perhaps the finest works of symbolist content and secessionist form in Croatia. Hazy light prevails in the Walpurgis Night, dramatic contrasts of light and shade distinguish The Death of Caesar, while the nostalgic atmosphere of sunset overwhelms even such symbolic subject-matter as the scene of Dante, Shakespeare and Cervantes listening to Homer (in fact, a literary *Sacra Conversazione*).

In the 19th century, sculpture in Croatia, as in Europe as a whole, experienced a prolonged crisis. With the cessation of large-scale commissions for *châteaux* and parks of the nobility and for churches, sculpture mostly declined to the level of a craft, supplying the needs of the more modest building activity of the bourgeoisie and equipping altars. It received fresh impetus only in the second half of the century, with the growth of cities,



176.
Tomislav and Strossmayer Squares, Zagreb.
Part of the string of green squares known as “Lenuzzi's horseshoe” constructed in the 19th century, with public buildings: the Art Pavilion (1898), Chemical Laboratory and Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (1884).



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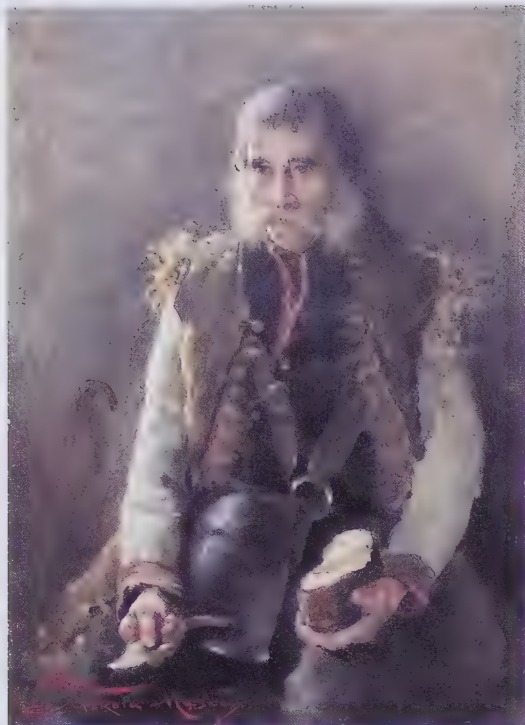


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177.
Mirogoj, municipal cemetery, Zagreb, built 1883–1914 in neo-Renaissance style according to the design of H. Bollé.

178.
Atrium of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (1880), designed by the Viennese architect F. Schmidt. The classically restrained neo-Renaissance atrium, besides its historicism, includes another feature of 19th-century architecture of the industrial age: the glass roof with a metal construction.

179.
Croatian National Theatre, Zagreb (1895), designed by the architects F. Fellner and H. Helmer, who were also responsible for those in Rijeka and Varaždin. The style is neo-baroque with rococo overtones. Meštrović's Well of Life was raised later.

180.
NIKOLA MAŠIĆ: Man from Lika, late 19th century. Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Rural subjects were popular in painting and realist literature in this period.

181.
VLAHO BUKOVAC: Young Noblewoman (1890). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. This portrait of a young woman in a Roman tunic with a fan was painted by Bukovac during his stay in Paris.

when public monuments became an inevitable feature of squares and parks.

The beginnings of public sculpture in Zagreb are notable for the works of the Viennese A. D. Fernkorn. The iconography of his monuments is characteristic of the epoch: the bronze statue of St George fighting the dragon (1853) for the newly-opened Jurjaves-Maksimir park, the equestrian statue of Governor Jelačić (after whom the square was later named) raised in 1866 in the main square, Harmica, as a symbol of the political aspirations for independence and an expression of anti-Hungarian feeling, and the bronze figure of Mercury on the former hardware store in the same square, symbolising industry and commerce, the foundations of the city's prosperity. Mercury was transferred to the façade of a subsequently constructed hotel, while St George, a high quality work with a neo-baroque verve, was moved around the town until it finally came to rest between the theatre and the Museum of Arts and Crafts, harmoniously linking these two historicist buildings.

Another artist active in the production of public sculpture in Zagreb, Ivan Rendić, although his career began only in 1875, was, in fact, the first modern Croatian sculptor. Like the painter Vjekoslav Karas, he studied in Italy (under G. Duprè), thanks to the patriotic fervour and assistance of patrons, and similarly suffered a tragic fate, except that Karas quietly committed suicide, whereas the death of Rendić, in a paupers' hospital, completely forgotten, and his two funerals contain elements of farce. Following an official funeral in Split, when his name was rescued from obscurity, the people of Brač demanded his reburial on their island, three days later. Now, in spite of all this fuss, his grave is not known for certain. To compound the irony, Rendić's opus of over 200 works, scattered from Rijeka to Dubrovnik, mostly comprises funerary monuments.

Some of his statues and public monuments, resembling wax figures in their realism (monument to the poet Preradović, 1879; The Herzegovinian Woman; monument to the writer Kačić), will perhaps find a new public thanks to the experience and aesthetics of 20th-century hyper-realism, but in any case it is certain that the *Pietà* at Supetar cemetery, the Meditation in Trieste, and the Sleeping Vestal Virgin at Opatija cemetery (1908) are of enduring and universal artistic value. Rendić was undoubtedly a sculptor of exceptional talent, but born into an unappreciative environment and in a most unpropitious age for sculpture.

The next two sculptors to appear, Valdec and Frangeš-Mihanović, who exhibited together at the first show of the Croatian Salon (1898) as representatives of the Modern movement, exploited the fresh possibilities for sculptural expression opened up by Rodin, and followed the new stimulus given to sculpture by symbolism and the Secession. A. Frangeš-Mihanović, who trained in Vienna and specialised under Rodin (1901), reached the highest level in Croatian Modern sculpture in his works intended for architecture (his allegories of sciences above the door of the Golden Hall of the Department for Religious Observances and Education, executed while he was still studying, and the same allegories for the façade of the University Library, and also in his funerary monuments: the relief The Poet's Muse (for the writer Tomić, 1908), giving a remarkable impression of unity and transfiguration; and the sculptures A Mother's Love and The Peasant, masterpieces of concise modelling and reduced forms in a monumental synthesis reminiscent of Meunier. He was also noted for his animal sculptures (Grand Prix at the World Exhibition in Paris, 1900).



The Early Twentieth Century

In diversity and swift succession of styles, the early years of the 20th century up to the First World War were perhaps the most eventful period in the whole history of European art. In Croatia, too, *mutatis mutandis*, it was a time of prolific artistic activity and pluralism of styles. Parallel with the continuity of historicism in all branches of art, we have the monumentalism of the Medulić group, the *intimisme* of the four members of the Munich circle, the activity of a coherent group of secessionist architects, an individual variant of modernity in the work of the architect V. Kovačić, and also a number of artists of marked individuality — from I. Meštrović and M. Rački to Lj. Babić and E. Vidović.

Closer links between writers and artists gave rise to regular magazine columns of art criticism, whose foundations were laid by the writer A. G. Matoš, an erudite figure of the Paris school, endowed with a penetrating mind and exceptional intuition.

The dynamic pace of art movements in the early 20th century was mirrored in the rapidly fluctuating groups of artists. Shortly after their groupation in Croatia, in 1904 they gathered at the First Yugoslav Art Exhibition in Belgrade, and in the following year formed the Society of Yugoslav Artists named Lada. But at Lada's first exhibition in Sofia, a breakaway group of young Dalmatian artists already appeared. Led by E. Vidović, in 1908 they founded the Medulić Society in Split, thereby ending the monocentrism of Zagreb so typical of the 19th century.

Whereas the foundation of the Society of Croatian Artists in 1895 was an act of organic separation of the young from the old, the conflict of the new, the Medulić group (Vidović, Meštrović, Rački, Krizman . . .), with the traditional in the domain of art had an ideological orientation and a clear political direction, although artistically heterogeneous. Its programme was based on the national tradition of the South Slav peoples, but less in order to revive the national artistic style than to increase political awareness of the national identity. Resisting tendencies to disregard the Slavs on the part of the Austro-Hungarian ruling circles, artists championed the idea of South Slav unity and placed themselves in the service of the struggle for independence from Austria-Hungary.

The neo-Romanesque bell-tower of Zadar cathedral by T. G. Jackson (1894) and Bollé's neo-Gothic spires of Zagreb cathedral (completed in 1902) are the last major historicist landmarks on urban panoramas, inspired by a belated romantic enthusiasm for restoring historical monuments.

The culmination of architecture in historical styles is linked in Zagreb with the activity of the largest building firm at the turn of the century, Hönigsberg and Deutsch, which was responsible for a series of large buildings in the new squares and at street junctions, most of them historicist, but also with some bizarre combinations of styles (for instance, Venetian-Gothic, English arches and French rococo ornamentation all on the same edifice). At the same time, the style of Viennese Secession, under the influence of Otto Wagner, was adopted for a number of buildings designed for the same firm by the architect V. Bastl in the period up to the First World War. Outstanding among these are the Ethnographic Museum (1901) with a large dome and sculptures by R. Valdec, and the Chamber of Commerce and Crafts building beside it, which together established the relationship of the theatre square (Kazališni trg) to Savska St. Also notable are two corner buildings on Jelačić Square, one with a huge model of a bottle incorporated into the corner (an advertisement for a popular massage oil, 1905; the house was altered to the flat style of the twenties by A. Behrens), and the other decorated with monumental reliefs of glazed ceramic by Meštrović, with muscular figures representing various occupations.

The most consistent example of the secessionist desire to revise completely the appearance of the townhouse and free it from tradition and formal conventions is the Kalin house in Zagreb, faced with glazed brick, with floral decoration and original metal balconies inset with glass. (V. Bastl, 1903).

182.

Bela Čikoš-Sesija, painter of *Psyche-Inspiration* (1898), was the pioneer and most talented representative of symbolism in Croatian art, and propagator of secessionist trends at the turn of the century. Modern Gallery, Zagreb.



1905.
1898.



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183.
IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ: Kraljević Marko (1910). Meštrović Studio, Zagreb. An example of monumentalism in the service of national ideology. In this style Meštrović could be powerfully expressive, but also descend to the level of bathos.

184.
IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ: Well of Life (1905), bronze, Zagreb. This early work by Meštrović, and one of his best, is in the spirit of Rodin, not only in its impressionist treatment of the surface but also in its universal symbolism and true humanism.

185.
MIROSLAV KRALJEVIĆ: Self-Portrait with a Pipe (1912). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Assimilating the experience of contemporary Paris painting, Kraljević developed an individual style combining a free-flowing line with strictly disciplined structuring by means of colour.

186.
JOSIP RAČIĆ: Pont des Arts (1908). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Painted in Paris during his four-month stay that ended in his death at the age of twenty-three, Račić's last work, like his portraits, shows a remarkable maturity and flair for artistic synthesis.

187.
VLADIMIR BEČIĆ: Still Life (1909). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Of all the members of the "Munich circle" in Croatian painting, only Bečić remained faithful to the original style characterised by clear and firm modelling. In this work, even the bread has the hardness of pottery.

In the period up to the war, a group of Zagreb architects: A. Baranyai, I. Fišer (the sanatorium in Klaić St., 1908), Podhorski, Sunko and others, designed numerous secessionist residential buildings in the city and detached family houses with gardens. The University Library (Lubinsky, 1912) with its stylised elongated division of windows through the entire façade of the building, its immense copper dome and impressive simplicity, forms a link between secessionist and expressionist architecture. But even in the secessionist period — as in earlier epochs — architecture displayed a certain restraint, perhaps in response to contemporary criticism of the secessionist style and decoration.

At the beginning of the century, Zagreb reacted promptly to the stimulus of the Secession, the first international style of modern Europe, as testified by the number and quality of the monuments. But buildings in this style can be found in other towns as well. The architects Nakić (house, 1903) and K. Tončić (sulphur baths, 1903, and Croatian Culture Centre, 1908) were active in Split, while in Osijek, V. Aksmanović was responsible for a fine secessionist project for the regulation of the new quarter with a double avenue of trees, imaginatively designed two-story dwellings with small front gardens, and the cinema (1912) at the end of the prospect.

A programme for including Croatian architecture in progressive European trends was published as early as 1900 by V. Kovačić in his article *Modern Architecture* in the magazine *Život*. Criticising historicism, he put forward the idea of the Croatian Modern style, postulating that architecture must, above all, be "individual and contemporary", but — in contrast to the excessive subjectivism of the literary movement — Kovačić asserted that it should also be practical and comfortable, citing the new type of English family house and O. Wagner, whose student he had been in Vienna. Like the artists of the Munich group in the domain of painting, Kovačić raised the method of approaching architectural design to a fitting intellectual level, and the architect's sense of responsibility to a high ethical standard. He directed the attention of architects to the whole range of activities from interior decoration to urban planning, as can be seen, in particular, in his commitment in his writings and projects to the protection and re-evaluation of the cultural heritage (his plan for the regulation of Kaptol, Dolac and the Jesuit Square in Zagreb).

His work is distinguished by restraint and a purist moderation, and by the use of reduced forms of historical styles subjectively reworked into a new entity: the Tuscan Renaissance loggia on the top floor of the Frank house (1910); the simplified structure in the Venetian-Byzantine tradition of the central dome of the church of St Blaise (1913); the truly monumental design for the Stock Exchange (1924), where the striking contrast of projecting and recessed elements on the main façade with its massive columns counterpoints the firm, relief-like rhythm of the windows on the side walls. The interior is dominated by a neo-classical dome. Kovačić's design was to be completed by H. Erlich. Seemingly unaffected by his collaboration with Loos on the Karma villa in Switzerland, Erlich reverted in his later works to historicism and eclecticism, through carrying on Kovačić's aims in his functional family villas and refined interior decoration.

Besides Frangeš, R. Valdec was prominent among the sculptors of the period. He, too, took part in combining sculpture with architecture on the building of the University Library (the tympanum) and on the roof of the Ethnographic Museum, where his huge concrete statue crowns the building and serves as a counterpart to the dome. His particular contribution is several effective portraits of eminent persons, such as Bishop Strossmayer, Iso Kršnjavi, the writer A. G. Matoš, and the art critic V. Lunaček. Impressionist in finish, with a note of humour, some of them resemble Daumier's busts (humorous expressionism).

In the first decade, Ivan Meštrović, the greatest Yugoslav sculptor of the first half of the century, and the most controversial (in his relationship of ideology and form), appeared on the scene. His biography begins roman-







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187



188.
Zagreb University Library (1913), designed by Rudolf Lubinsky. The elongated forms characteristic of secessionist design are used here to link the window openings, resulting in a monumentality akin to expressionist architecture.

189.
EMANUEL VIDOVIĆ: Towards the Dead City (c. 1915). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. The pointillist technique which the impressionists employed to convey flickering sunlight was used by Vidović to create a melancholy mood steeped in symbolism. The flatness and dematerialisation approach abstraction.

190.
MIRKO RAČKI: City of Dite (1906). Modern Gallery, Zagreb. This highly creative illustrator of Dante's trilogy interpreted the burning city of Dite in Hell in a visionary style bordering on symbolism and expressionism.

tically with the discovery of the talented boy from a tiny village in the Dalmatian hinterland, an authentic peasant lad-sculptor of unquestionable individuality, and the forming of a society to support his studies in Vienna (1901). In the prewar period, the young Meštrović passed through two distinct phases with opposing and contradictory elements that were to distinguish — and, perhaps, partly explain — his whole vast opus over seven decades of tireless work: the *intimiste*, humanist and Rodinesque (Well of Life, 1905), as against the monumental, heroic, literary-pathetic and mythic, with its reliance on tradition and under the influence of Metzner (the design for the St Vitus' Day Shrine — *Vidovdanski hram*, 1907–1912).

Thanks to Meštrović's inventive approach to the task of creating a public monument with which the passer-by has direct contact, the Well of Life is a major achievement in the development of the sculptural fountain in modern times. With its uncoventional iconography, its lively figures rhythmically arranged around the spring of water, and powerfully expressive faces and gestures, this bronze cylinder of intertwined bodies, their surface treated impressionistically, recalls Rodin's finest creations.

Meštrović was never again to achieve such power and concentration, artistic complexity and classical simplicity as in this youthful work. Perhaps this loss of spontaneity should be ascribed precisely to the other component already mentioned, the ideological preoccupations which the master imposed on himself, thereby subordinating his talent to the doctrine of deliberate monumentalism and the direct propagation of ideas.

Endeavouring to draw the attention of cultural circles in Europe to the aspirations of the Croats for liberation from Austria-Hungary and of the South Slav peoples for unification, Meštrović became active on the political plane. As an act of protest, in 1911 and 1912, together with Rački, Krizman and Babić, he exhibited in Rome in the pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia instead of the Austro-Hungarian, and in 1915, during the war, showed his work in London and other British cities. Even earlier, at the Viennese Secession exhibition of 1910, he had attracted attention with his Vidovdan cycle of monumental stylised figures of medieval epic heroes (Kraljević Marko and others), symbols of the common struggle of the South Slavs against the Turks.

In the absence of a task worthy of the sculptor, in the 19th century Rodin had designed his famous Gates of Hell, a vast figural composition for the portal of a non-existent building, of which the best known figures are The Thinker, Adam and Eve, The Three Graces, etc. Meštrović's design for the St Vitus' Day Shrine, on the other hand, is a work of sculpture which grew in scale into an architectural composition, and in its own way could be interpreted as the sculptor's revenge for a century of neglect. In composition, Meštrović's monument is a reproduction of Diocletian's mausoleum and the medieval bell-tower of Split cathedral, but the tower is composed of human bodies, like a surrealist gymnastic exercise, a "pyramid" of colossal athletes. Though exaggerated in scale and style, it is not lacking in power, and some of the individual figures of the Vidovdan cycle are truly impressive, like the medieval knights and heroes Marko Kraljević, Miloš Obilić, etc.

It is interesting that in this period Meštrović spent two years in Paris, at the height of the most tumultuous events in the field of the visual arts, but remained quite untouched by these, seeking inspiration only in museums — the collections of monumental art of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Louvre, and later in London. After the First World War, Meštrović came to Zagreb and built a studio there. In the thirties, he also acquired a house and studio in Split. During the occupation (1942), he fled to Italy and later to the United States, where he worked and taught until the end of his life, continuing the link of Croatian and Yugoslav art with America established by his monuments to Indians in Chicago (1928).

In the early years of the 20th century, parallel with monumentalism, the influential "Munich group" of *intimiste* painters: J. Račić, M. Kraljević,



191.

MIRKO RAČKI: *The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* (1916), privately owned, Zagreb. In creating this symbol (the black and yellow snake standing for the colours of the Austro-Hungarian flag), the decorative method of the Secession is translated into a powerful and expressive statement.

192.

LJUBO BABIĆ: *The Black Flag* (1919), privately owned, Zagreb. In the expressionist manner, the painter suggests the carefree clamour of (bourgeois) society, unconscious of the black cutting edge about to descend on it.

V. Becić and O. Herman, was quietly active. Each of them had a strong individuality. They differed, too, in their destinies: two died young (Račić in 1908, Kraljević in 1913), while Becić and Herman were still painting in the second half of the century. What was common to all of them in the period from 1905 to 1914, besides their studies under Habermann in Munich, and in the case of Račić and Herman also under the Slovene A. Ažbe, was their new, structurally modern approach to the work of art, the fact that they "intellectually and consciously, and not merely ostensibly, adopted the principles of modern art" (A. Schneider on Kraljević).

Despite the superficial classification of this group among the impressionists in earlier interpretations, these painters, in fact, "do not go for the play of light which dissolves the solidity of the painted object". On the contrary, in their work "construction takes the place of analysis and volume is created by colour" (B. Gagro). In opposition to academicism, in Munich they supported the French tradition, thinking of Manet, but when Račić went to study in Paris, his tragic death four months later, regardless of its actual cause, was in a sense symbolic of the gap that separated him from the truly avant-garde movements in art. However, one of his last paintings, *Pont des Arts*, reminds us that in that turbulent turn-of-the-century Paris there were some excellent painters working in a contemporary idiom quite different from the avant-garde experiments. Račić might well be included in the Nabis group, alongside E. Vuillard or Vallotton; like theirs, his last pictures and Paris watercolours (*In the Café*) will quietly endure the test of time. His interior, *Mother and Child*, although imbued by a different, tragic, emotional colouring, also belongs to this *intimiste* circle.

Kraljević, on the other hand, succeeded in Paris in giving free rein to his temperament in expressionist drawings and in paintings whose structure is achieved by means of colour. Drawing on the legacy of Cézanne and the fauvists (*Self-Portrait* and *Portrait of a Little Girl*) and of Picasso (drawings), Kraljević created a markedly individual opus of high quality which belongs equally to Croatian art and the Paris school.

After a phase of Marees-like melancholy symbolism, Herman was to follow his own style of liquified picturesque forms and expressive bizarre colours, while Becić alone, retaining a clearly recognisable, pronounced voluminosity, was to remain faithful to the original aims of the group.

Besides the numerous works of art in which medieval motifs served as ideological and political symbols, mention should be made of two symbolist pictures by Croatian artists of a topical nature whose artistic value and symbolic significance earn them a place in an anthology of European art of the First World War. These are *The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* of M. Rački (1916) and *The Black Flag* of Lj. Babić (1919), both devoted to the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian state.

In his gouache, Rački succeeds in translating the secessionist decorative and ornamental method into a powerful statement and in creating, with exceptional imagination, a visual symbol without any admixture of literary elements: a soldier stands to attention on an empty grey field, while behind him sways a black and yellow snake (the colours of the Austrian flag).

In Babić's painting, in which the sole echo of the Secession is the elongated form, the subject is a large black flag hanging like a guillotine over a dissipated company of people dressed in gay, sumptuous colours. The complexity of the artistic associations condensed in this work ranges from Altdorfer's *Alexander's Battle* and Watteau's *Embarkation for Kithera* (sharing with the latter the message of an age in decline) to the flag as a motif in fauvist paintings, but the unrepeatable originality of *The Black Flag* sets it apart from all trends and styles. In its free and imaginative selection from the cultural heritage in order to achieve a new, individual creation, his method is somewhat similar to that of V. Kovačić in architecture, but judged by absolute standards, Babić's exceptional work must undoubtedly stand higher on the same scale in the history of European art.

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Babić's painting and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire bring to a close this survey of the artistic heritage of Croatia. Following the concept of the series Art Treasures of Yugoslavia, two periods of prolific and notable artistic activity, differing in character and raising interesting problems, have necessarily been omitted: the interwar and postwar periods. We shall mention them only briefly.

Between the wars, Croatian architects of the "Zagreb school" made a significant contribution to European architecture (D. Ibler, S. Planić, M. Kauzlarić, Z. Stržić, E. Weismann and others), and together with painters (K. Hegedušić, M. Detoni, V. Svečnjak, O. Postružnik and others) became actively involved in the *Zemlja* (Land) movement, with its orientation towards social criticism (1929–1935). In the twenties, volume was the dominant element in painting (the Spring Salon), and in the thirties, colour. In sculpture, F. Kršinić with his condensed Maillotesque forms returned this art to its true essence. However, avant-garde movements in European and world art had but slight impact in Croatia.

In contrast, in the postwar period a large number of painters soon made up for lost time and followed the latest trends from Op art and *informel* onwards. By their freedom of creativity and the appearance of abstract art (the Exat group in 1952 and others) — unlike in other European socialist countries where socialist realism prevails, as it did in Yugoslavia in the immediate postwar years — the visual arts, too, confirm that Croatia belongs to the free western world. This is borne out, in particular, by a combination that appeared in Europe for the first time since the Russian avant-garde of the twenties: state-commissioned monuments to the Revolution of "eastern" socialist type created in the idiom of "western" abstract art (V. Bakić, D. Džamonja). Postwar sculpture in Croatia abounds in artists of notable individuality (K. Angeli-Radovani, B. Ružić, Š. Vulas and others). Architectural design is likewise in the mainstream of European and world events, and progress has been made in the applied arts, industrial design and particularly in the art of the new media.

The "Zagreb school" of animated cartoons owes its high standing in the world precisely to its artistic component and level of achievement. A number of works that account for its pre-eminence in this medium are in the tradition of painting rather than drawing, and should perhaps be evaluated not as cartoon films but as "kinetic painting" (Z. Bourek, Z. Gasparović and others). The drawing stream, however, (B. Dvorniković, N. Dragić and others) has won the highest international recognition (D. Vukotić, an Oscar in 1962).

Numerous naive painters have also gained international renown. Outstanding among these are the peasant-painters who appeared in the interwar period: M. Virius and I. Generalić, and later I. Rabuzin, M. Skurjeni, I. Lacković and others.

* * *

This attempt to present, for the first time in one volume, a history of the arts on the territory of Croatia from prehistoric times to the 20th century was a challenging task made even more onerous by the differences between the three regions (Istria with the Kvarner and Croatian Littoral, Dalmatia and northern Croatia), each with its own cultural history, and by the remarkable continuity of artistic creativity, which in all periods produced works of high quality. Much has perforce been omitted, for the aim of this volume is to arouse the reader's interest in the artistic heritage of Croatia rather than to provide a fully comprehensive work of reference. The author has endeavoured to present and explain this heritage within the context of European art as a whole, and to show that a survey of European art history cannot be considered complete without mention of Croatia's contribution.



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Afterword for the War Edition

Planning the second edition of this book, it was my intention to revise and expand it. However, the terrible devastation of Croatia in the 1991–1992 war and the mind-boggling destruction of its cultural heritage intensified the interest in Croatian culture and the demand for a new printing. Thus, short of time and funds, and aware that the *Art Treasure of Croatia 1986* — now sold out — is the first and still the only History of Croatian art ever published (with translations into three world languages, English, German and French), I have agreed to a new edition of the book which should most properly be considered a *war edition*.

Aware of its imperfections (which I intended to correct), I still believe it imperative to meet the urgent task of offering to the international public, as well as readers at home whose needs could not be satisfied by far with the first edition, a summary but complete interpretation of Croatian art history and the Croatian cultural heritage at the moment of greatest destruction and still impending direct threat of further destruction. Also, at the beginning of the momentous effort of reconstruction which as we know will be of long duration, and will face what now seem almost insurmountable difficulties...

Thus, I have made only some indispensable corrections of the most glaring mistakes (in the captions of the illustrations) and added some titles to the bibliography, leaving the text and illustrations unchanged.

* * *

On the other hand, one obligation remains: to determine, even if in most summary fashion, the significance of the current tragedy of the Croatian artistic heritage.

From the very beginning the students of man's life on earth have been aware of two parallel histories: the history of man's creative effort and the history of man's destructive urge. The art historian is by definition a champion of the constructive and creative human effort, essentially a humanist who in moments like this one, when destruction is waged against Croatia in the present war, cannot (together with all the intellectuals and humanists worthy of this name) look on with indifference and detachment upon this war, but must needs oppose the aggression and devastation and join the struggle for freedom, truth, reason and the value of human life.

In a number of texts, initiatives and lectures abroad (Italy, Germany, the United States and Canada), I have tried to interpret the situation in what formerly was Yugoslavia, and urge world public and cultural opinion to exert pressure on their politicians and governments to prevent Serbian aggression on Croatia and its cultural heritage. In this effort I have always stressed the slogan: it is not important only to list *how much* has been destroyed, but to know *what* we have lost.

As an art historian I am aware of a double task faced by Croatian scholarship at this momentous historical turning point. First, to publish new and absolutely accu-



Church tower of St John the Baptist, 18th century, Sarvaš. In the 1991–92 war against Croatia, church towers were the favourite targets for the Serbian Yu-artillery (photo J. Petrić).



Church of St Lawrence, 18th century, Petrinja. The flag marking the cultural monument-in accordance with the Hague Convention-seems like a cynical joke.



St Martin's church near Našice, 13th century. A rare example of Romanesque architecture in Slavonia that survived Turkish wars and other wars that followed... until 1991. Notice the useless Hague flag.

rate interpretations of Croatian art history in foreign languages in order to offer reliable information to the European and world public (this is also the reason why I undertook to write this book in the first place). Second, after Croatia has been internationally recognized as an independent Republic, to proceed to the systematic differentiation and definition of the Croatian cultural heritage instead of being "drowned" as was customary in a vague concept of *Yugoslav* art.

The cultural image of Croatia abroad was most seriously damaged by half a century of systematic activity on the part of the former Yugoslav diplomacy and other centralistic forces to deny the cultural identity of all the South Slav nations including the Croats — except that of the Serbs. On the international cultural plane this project was embodied systematically (in a primitive yet effective way) in a policy which presented the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia as a country inhabited by "Serbs and other nations". Pervasive slogans such as "the Serbian medieval monasteries", and "the Yugoslav (never Croatian!) Šibenik, Split or Dubrovnik" are telling examples of the discriminatory policies of the former regime.

The other, typically "socialist" doctrine of the "equality" of all the six Yugoslav republics was contrasted to the first only in appearance; in reality it was also most damaging for Croatia. This was so owing to the fact that both in quantity and diversity the Cultural heritage of Croatia was the richest among the South Slav nations. Consequently, when Croatian culture was immersed in the notion of "Yugoslav" culture, Croatia had most to lose in all the presentations and projections of former Socialist Yugoslavia. A sign of this is the very series in which this book was first published: it was the editors' intention to deal with the art of each of the six republics of the Yugoslav Federation in books of identical format. I wrote a great number of letters and analyses, critiques and polemics in which I argued that even if only the quantity of monuments was considered, Croatia deserved three times more space than Slovenia and ten times more than Montenegro (these two volumes of the series were published before the Croatian volume went into print). Not to mention the higher, sometimes exceptional quality of the Croatian monuments, demanding more extensive interpretation.

The slogan "Yugoslav Dubrovnik" was finally discredited in the eyes of the civilized world only in the autumn 1991 when the first grenades exploded on the streets and mansions, churches, monasteries and residential houses of Medieval, Renaissance and baroque Dubrovnik, which has a place on the UNESCO World Heritage List (along with Split which was shelled somewhat later). Then, if not before, every reasonable citizen of Europe must have realized which of the "Yugoslav" nations built this city and made it worthy of a place on the World Heritage List — doing everything in its power to rebuild it painstakingly for an entire decade after the earthquake in 1979 — and which "Yugoslavs" were now using it as an ideal target attacked from sea and land.

One of the specific aspects of the tragedy happening in Croatia in these last two years of war is the fact that *many monuments of the Croatian cultural heritage have been destroyed before Europe and the world ever heard of them. And inversely, that some of them, for example the totally razed baroque centre of Vukovar, achieved fame only after they ceased to exist...*

After hearing about the flood in Florence, several decades ago, the entire civilized world knew at once that this was a threat to world culture. Similarly, when the Serbs shelled Dubrovnik in 1991 — because this city was known and admired by the world at large. However, owing to their relative obscurity, the damaging of other Croatian monuments although equally significant and valuable — such as the Renaissance dome of Šibenik cathedral or the notable monuments of Antiquity and the Middle Ages in Zadar — passed almost unnoticed outside Croatia. However, we hope that in this book we have proved that these latter monuments are in no way inferior.

— The prehistoric dove of Vučedol called after the site of the same name in the vicinity of Vukovar, which for us symbolizes our Neolithic art, has now also become a symbol of Vukovar, reminding us of the most tragic destruction of a European city after World War II comparable to the destruction of Berlin or Warsaw.

— The most notable sites of “Old Croatian” Pre-Romanesque art (9–11 c): Knin and its environs, the “cradle of the Croatian past” as Ljubo Karaman wrote in 1931, are still under Serbian occupation, and it is impossible to assess the fate of the monuments or the extent of the damage in that region.

— Zadar was heavily damaged by shelling, and its most representative Romanesque monuments were not spared, such as the roofs and walls of the church of St Grisogono and the cathedral (St Stosija).

— Among the Gothic monuments the ruin of the Cistercian church (13 c) in Topusko is the source of an interesting “story” related to the “Hague flags”. According to the Hague Convention every listed cultural monument must be marked by a white flag with a blue square (just as hospitals are marked by a red cross), which oblige the enemy side to spare it. When the Yugoslav army began shelling Topusko, the facade constituting the ruin of what had been the most monumental Gothic church in Croatia was not targeted. However, as soon as the conservators marked it with the Hague flag, it became a target for enemy artillery. Luckily, in spite of several hits, the facade still stands. Probably thinking that the ruin was their own “doing”, the Serbian aggressors had left it alone. But, as soon as they realized it was a historical monument, they proceeded to destroy it. Such examples — and there are many more — are the best indication that the destruction of the Croatian cultural heritage, particularly of the religious monuments (churches and belfries were the favourite targets and were destroyed by the hundreds) — was a deliberate attempt to obliterate the Croatian cultural identity of towns, villages and even entire regions.

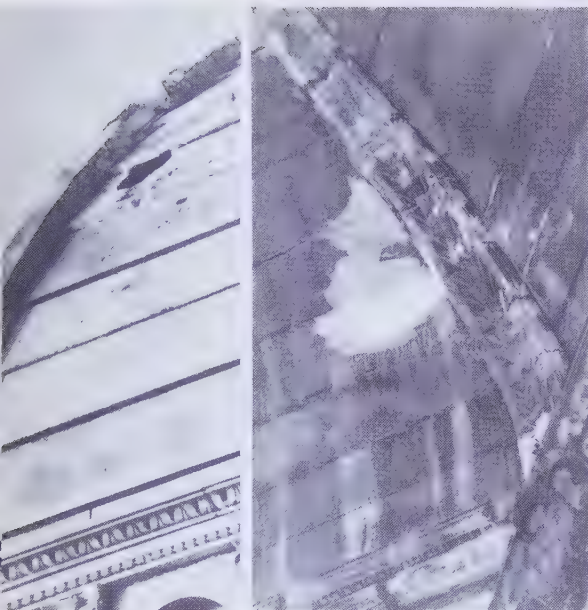
— Another typical example of the historical fate of the Croatian cultural heritage is the parish church in Voćin, also in Slavonia. This notable and elegant specimen of late Gothic architecture (of the Czech type) and fine stone masonry was heavily damaged during the Turkish wars, then again during World War II. About ten years ago it was painstakingly restored and conserved in a long and costly renovation project. In 1991 it was first shelled, then set on fire, finally demolished with explosives (mines) by the Serbian army and reduced to one charred stump . . .

— In 1333 the Ragusans purchased the Pelješac Peninsula by paying off both the Serbian king and the Bosnian “Ban” (both claimed that they were its owners!) and proceeded to build Ston and Mali Ston — two fortified planned Gothic cities connected by walls — which impressed an urban stamp on a rural region. Six hundred and sixty years later (1991–1992) *Croatian urban civilization in this same place is again attacked by members of the Serbo-Montenegrine rural system*. Pelješac has been shelled, and Mali Ston (with its Gothic houses and Renaissance towers) has been heavily damaged by artillery fire coming from the Serbo-Montenegrine and Yugoslav army.

— When (on September 15, 1991) a Serbian artillery grenade shot through the dome of Šibenik cathedral, in the Croatian cultural circles this was greeted with the same consternation and revolt as the shelling of Dubrovnik. But, as the Šibenik cathedral has not been *listed* by UNESCO — although according to scholarly criteria it deserves such categorization, as we have tried to show in this book, the world was unmoved. Imagine what would be the protests in Europe and the world if some mafiosi had pierced the dome of Florence cathedral or if some ignorant peasants from the neighbouring villages had shelled the cupolas of San Marco in Venice or St Paul’s in London? Here again one becomes painfully aware that the Croatian monuments are being destroyed before they were acknowledged by civilized humanity as part of the European and world heritage to which they belong by right. The grenade which left a hole in the dome of the cathedral in Šibenik night

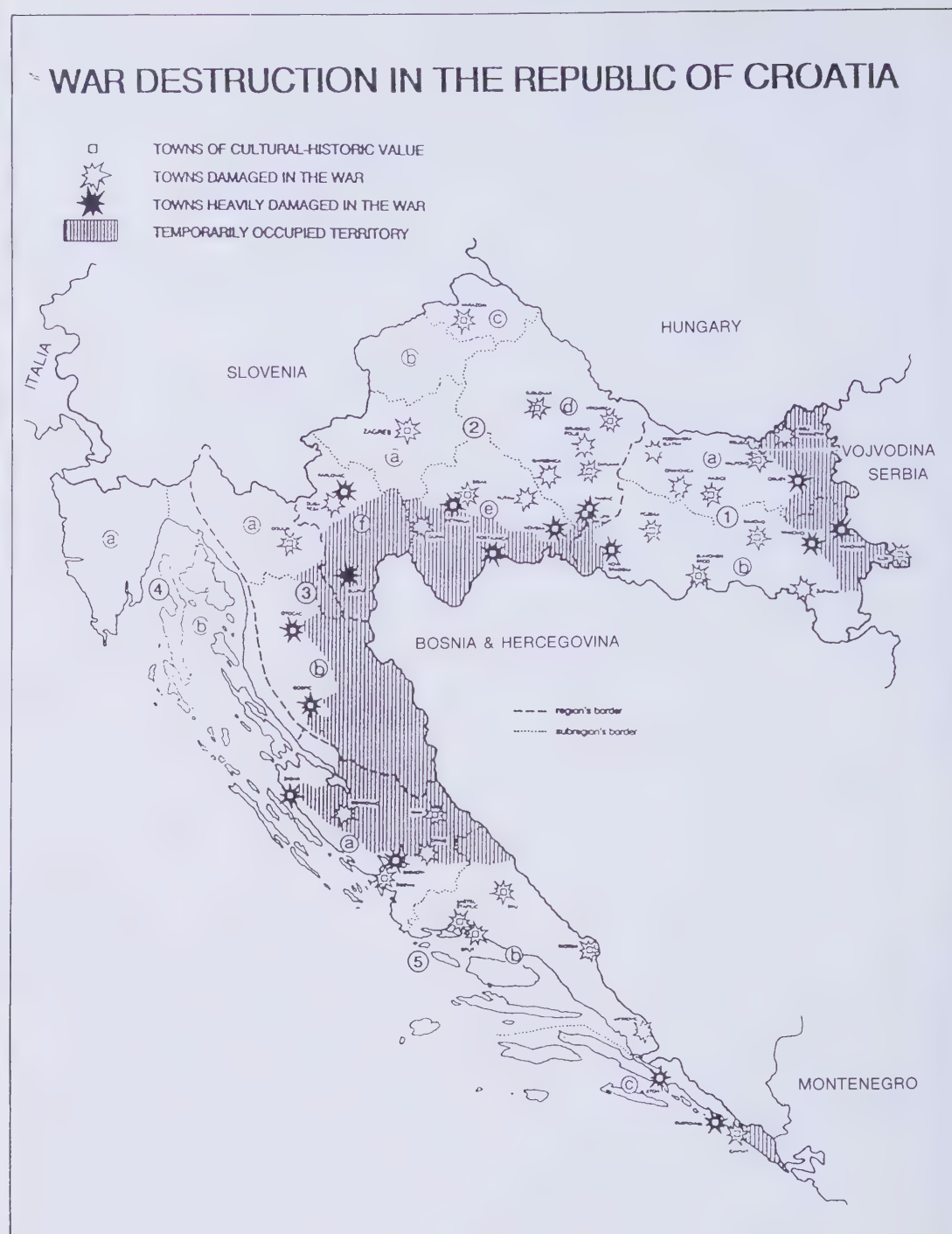


Franciscan church and monastery, founded in 1321 and rebuilt in the 18th century, in Našice, a small city with precious monuments (see Fig. 169). In this war, about 40 monasteries in Croatia were damaged or destroyed.



The dome of Šibenik Cathedral, designed by Nikola Firentinac in the 15th century, with a shell-made hole (see Fig. 101) (photo V. Kulaš).

The map of devastation caused by the 1991–1992 war in the Republic of Croatia



Supplied by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Ministry of Culture and Education, Zagreb.



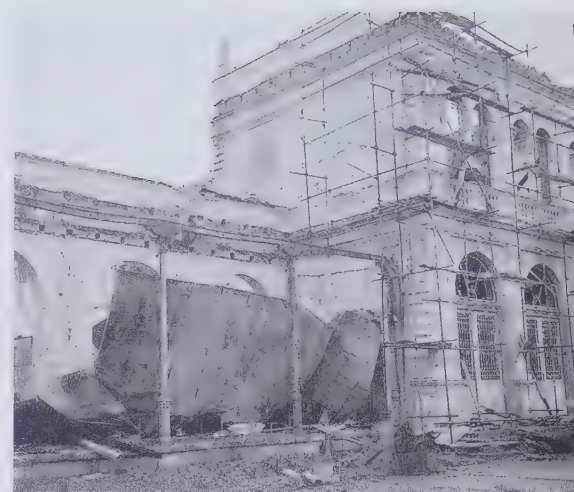
Clock tower with mechanical bronze figures of warriors that mark the hour by striking belles with their hammers, 15th century, Dubrovnik (see Fig. 5 and 98).

have caused a disaster if it had fallen just a little to the side and broken one of the ribs of the cupola: the cupola might have collapsed like a house of cards or a domino game!

— The intensity of the destruction of Dubrovnik in the 1991–1992 war is suggestively rendered on the map on which UNESCO experts have marked the hundreds of places hit by grenades on one day only! (December 6 1991, the day of St Nicholas). However, along with Dubrovnik and Mali Ston, destruction also came to Cavtat, Slano and numerous smaller towns and villages in the Dubrovnik hinterland, in Konavle, Župa Dobrovačka and elsewhere. It must be stressed that these smaller places are no haphazard rural settlements, but also represent planned Renaissance building undertaken by the Dubrovnik Republic.

— Nor has anyone in the world reacted to the devastation of the landscape which had been cultivated for centuries on the territory of the former Dubrovnik Republic and its islands (Sipan!) with terraces and paths, as well as architectural and horticultural elements of the finest quality — a subject also discussed in this book. Incendiary bombs were used in order to destroy vast tracts of rich Mediterranean vegetation which was carefully planted and tended by the Ragusans for centuries — since Renaissance and baroque times. From the carefully cultivated soil and the vegetation growing on it, to the roads and bridges, terraces, ramparts and the architecture — every inch of the Dubrovnik region is steeped in culture. This is why every Serbo-Montenegrine grenade disrupting the soil, every burned tree create a bleeding wound in the living cultural body of Croatia. What in some other regions of our country and in most regions in the world only cause damage to natural landscape and agriculture in the Dubrovnik region has caused the disappearance of human interventions in space which we often call the “cultural landscape”.

The “ideal” Renaissance city of Karlovac (1589) has been under enemy fire for more than a year now. How many times has the news of the shelling of Renaissance Karlovac been published around the world? Sisak (antique Siscia) where a Renaissance fortification was also built in the sixteenth century, was also shelled in this war with severe damage; in addition it was also the site of an ecological crime caused by the destruction of the oil refinery. How many international agencies have reported this event in the media? And yet, exactly four hundred years ago, long before the advent of the electronic media, the name Sisak was well known throughout Christian Europe because everyone had seen a printed leaflet



The central building of the bath complex in Lipik, an elegant 19th century health resort famous throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Church of St Mary, 19th century, the village of Šišaneć near Sisak.





Baroque palace, 18th century, Dubrovnik. The building burnt down, the interior still smouldering (photo M. Kerner).



Caved-in staircase in a baroque palace, 18th century, Dubrovnik (photo D. Kalogjera).

Shells that fell on Dubrovnik in a single day (St. Nicholas, 6 Dec 1991), fired by the Serbian and Montenegrin soldiers from the surrounding hills.

(compare with Fig. 98).

The Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Property, Dubrovnik

describing the first great victory of the united Christian forces of Central Europe against the Turks in the battle of Sisak in 1593.

— I wish to remind the reader of the chapter in this book which describes the most dramatic moments in Renaissance northern Croatia, when this part of the country was reduced to the reliquie reliquiarum in the sixteenth century. Representatives of the Croatian gentry, humanists, were then making the rounds of the courts of Europe asking for material and military support, trying to explain that the war in Croatia was no local war, but that a battle was fought there for the safeguarding of Europe, for Christianity ("antemurale christianitatis"). We wonder whether the same thing is not happening all over again? How many are those in Europe and the world who understand that the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is no ethnic war — although the Serbs are practising ethnic genocide over Croats and Moslems — but a war led by an arrogant militant and totalitarian power (Serbia) which cannot accept the downfall of the former communist Yugoslavia (with all power concentrated in Belgrade), and is trying to destroy every democratic effort of the new republics to achieve independence and introduce political pluralism? What part of humanity knows that the present war waged by Serbia and Montenegro against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is a war of aggression and violent repression in this part of Europe, and that here the capacity of Europe to support cooperation, peace and culture is being put to the test? Yet, in this struggle it is the duty of every single individual to indicate clearly where he stands.

(Finally: the author used the term ex-Yugoslavia to underline as a comparative advantages of Croatia and to make the geography easier to understand for foreign readers. Now the concept has fallen apart in several states and this book is dedicated to art treasures of Republik of Croatia only.)

* * *

We could go on enumerating damage forever, but we will close here, with two statements.





Ruins of Eltz Palace, 18th century, Vukovar (see Fig. 156). The baroque city of Vukovar was razed to the ground. The population was ethnically mixed; both Croats and Serbs died in Serbian mortar attacks, as the wounded in the underground hospital were of both nationalities (photo J. Zentner).

The destruction of Croatian territories, sometimes entire regions, has been frighteningly systematic: some villages in Slavonia, their churches and graveyards, were first demolished by merciless shelling and bombing, then taken and set on fire, demolished with explosives and finally flattened by tanks and bulldozers, thus erased from the face of the earth... Deliberately and systematically, they were made to disappear, leaving no trace. The territory involved in war operations is enormous, reaching from the farthest northeast of Slavonia to the southeastern end of Dalmatia (the length of the front in the war against Croatia is 680 km and the devastated surface is about 20,000 meters square, amounting to three quarters of Belgium!). Here the layers of civilization which were accumulated through long centuries, and the traces of Croatian culture have been destroyed by bombs thrown from airplanes, and grenades and shells fired from both sea and land.

We must ask ourselves: can we, should we allow all this to disappear forever? Did all this belong to ourselves alone, or was it a part of European and world culture?

As we would need at least a century to rebuild our devastated homeland, Croatia, on our own, we hope that help will come from all those who know that the Croatian cultural heritage is an integral part of the cultural heritage of Europe and the world. We also hope that the words and images of this book will contribute to this noble end.



Interior of the 15th century late Gothic church in Voćin, a rare example of Czech influence. The lengthy process of restoration was completed some ten years ago.



This is all that has remained of the church in Voćin (1992). The arrow points to the remnants of the portal.



Tower of the church of Holy Spirit, 18th century, Nuštar. During the war against Croatia, 437 churches were destroyed or damaged.



Zagreb: mediaeval and baroque Upper Town, the 18th century Governor's Residence after the air-raid.

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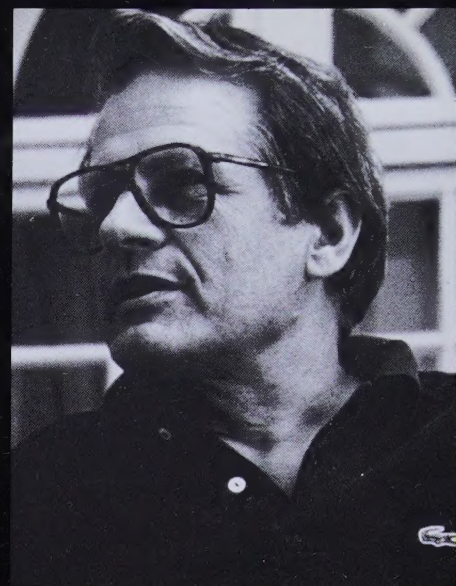
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Map of the Republic of Croatia. The major historical monuments are indicated by symbols.







RADOVAN IVANČEVIĆ is head of the Department for Croatian and Renaissance Art History of Zagreb University and a professor of the Architecture Faculty (Design).

Born in 1931, he graduated and gained his doctorate at the Philosophy Faculty of Zagreb University, where he has lectured since 1956. He is the author of numerous studies and articles devoted primarily to the interpretation and re-evaluation of monuments and works of art on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, in particular, medieval, Renaissance and modern architecture, and of a series of studies on the protection of monuments and old towns. Another major interest is iconology and visual communication through the medium of films and television. Since 1960, he has scripted and directed in the region of a hundred TV programmes, TV and documentary films, and some fifty single-concept films dealing with individual artists and monuments, the basic concepts of the language of art, and the cultural-historical periods of European art.

Professor Ivančević is the author of books on the artistic culture of the common man, iconology, the Gothic and Renaissance, and the artists Edo Kovačević and Ljubo Babić.

*Cover page (2):
Ljubo Babić,
The Black Flag (1916),
private collection, Zagreb*

